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THE POWERS AND THE GRÆCO-TURKISH WAR.

It is, perhaps, presumptuous for a writer in this country, who is neither diplomat nor soldier, nor yet in a position to know the secret springs of action which are influencing the Powers of Europe, to discuss the causes, the conduct, or the probable results of the recent brief war between Greece and Turkey. His judgment must be from the outside: it must be based upon documents which have seen the light, and can only guess at the hidden motives, the jealousies, the fears, the ambitions of the European governments. And yet, in our distance and in our lack of personal concern, may we not find reasons which will help us to take a calmer and broader view of the questions involved than would be possible in the case of a participant or of one vitally interested? We have the warmest sympathy for the doctrine of nationality which animates the Greek race,—a race more largely resident outside of Greece than in it. We see the advantage to civilization of the growth of constitutional government upon the edge of the despotic East, though that government may be weak and faulty. And we have a natural, a hereditary bias in favor of a people brave yet volatile, who represent to us the struggle for liberty in its early and later manifestations; whose history recalls to our minds Thermopylæ as well as Botzaris. Until the tongues of those who do know the real causes of the present situation are loosed, then, we may perhaps profitably consider some of its outward aspects, and without suspicion of leaning to the Turkish side.

At the conclusion of the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, Turkey-in-Europe was more than twice its present size. States have risen and

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have fallen since then; but no other considerable state has sunk so low, has lost so much. That this should be true of the only non-Christian government in Europe is significant. It has not been the result of chance. What is the inference? It is this: that one of the serious problems of the century in Europe has been to get rid of Turkish sovereignty, and that this problem has gone a long way toward solution. For seventy years, step by step, various Turkish provinces have been wrested from the Porte, and, after a taste of the intermediate state of semi-sovereignty, have gained their independence. Thus the Ottoman Power in Europe has dwindled. Every man's hand was against it. Every war helped, every treaty sanctified the process; and the map of Europe since 1886 shows the result. The working out of the problem has been complicated and difficult. It has involved the decay of a strong military Power on the one hand: on the other, it has had constantly to face the jealousies of its own agents. So that whenever the process became too rapid, and threatened the aggrandizement of some particular state, then the rest called a halt. Turkey's enemies became her friends simply in their own defence.

Thus the "balance of power" principle has dominated the century. The problem was not only how to free European soil of Turkish dominion; but how to do it without a general embroilment. There was pressure tempered by fear—the fear of one another. Turkey's enemies hated her none the less when the pressure slackened; but they feared Russia more. This century-long problem has given to Europe a set of political policies, of ideals, even of phrases, too familiar to need illustration. It has also created in Europe an ever-present dread of the consequences of the Porte's overthrow,—a dark background which clouds the sense of present security. Now self-interest is the guide of national policies; and the essence of self-interest is fear.

In the course of working out the problem mentioned, the Greek kingdom was set up. It was the beneficiary of the "Concert of the Powers." In an interesting essay[1] published in 1884, the English publicist, Mr. T. J. Lawrence, derives the European Concert from the combination of states which overcame Napoleon. Tracing the growth of this policy of concord, he shows how it was jeopardized by the principle of absolutism which found expression in the Holy Alliance, yet survived, and exists as a kind of general committee to superintend the affairs of Europe. Oftentimes the Concert falls short of its duty; sometimes it exceeds it; other leagues may coexist with it or within it; war

[1] "Essays on Modern International Law." London, 1884.

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between its members may suspend it. But its growth has been natural; its existence may therefore be prolonged, if not permanent; and its object is peace. Mr. Lawrence even finds in it the possible germ of a High Court of Appeal, and argues that the old doctrine of the equality of states must yield, has yielded, to the right of superintendence lodged in the hands of the six great Powers.

We need not go to such lengths as this. We may believe that the European Concert is governed by the lower as well as by the higher motives; by selfishness, distrust, and fear, as well as by the spirit of peace and goodwill to men. Nevertheless we cannot fail to see in it the dominating influence in Europe for nearly a century. It created Belgium and settled its international status. It neutralized Switzerland and Savoy, Luxemburg, and the Suez Canal. It has opened the rivers of Europe to commerce, has abolished privateering, has granted invaluable privileges to neutral trade, has twice checked Russian encroachment upon Turkey. And Greece, in particular, has been its ward, its beneficiary. At Navarino, in 1827, the Powers carved a Greek state out of Turkey, though leaving it under Turkish suzerainty. The line ran from the Gulf of Volo to that of Arta, through the mountain range of Othrys, where the Turkish advance was recently stopped by armistice. Thessaly and Epirus were expressly excluded and left in Turkish hands, because they had not earned freedom through insurrection.

In 1832, the Concert gave Greece independence and a king, under the guarantee of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

The Concert was interrupted, or tested, in 1856. But, though Russia was checked, and Turkey's integrity guaranteed, the former lost no territory; while the latter was constrained to grant equal rights to her Christian subjects, and to confirm the privileges of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia. When Greece showed signs of uneasiness during that war, the Powers "protected" and occupied her.

In 1863, by the Treaty of London, Great Britain ceded her rights in the Ionian Islands to Greece, the Concert authorizing the annexation. That same year the Greeks demanded a new king; and the Powers acquiesced in their second choice, Prince George of Denmark.

Six years later, Greece again became troublesome. Her Cretan neighbors and kinsmen had been massacred by their masters in thousands; and Greece could not but try to help and save them. But a solemn "Declaration of the Allied Powers relative to the obligations of Greece toward Turkey" forbade such conduct.

The next decade was a very troubled one in Southeastern Europe.

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Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria led to Russian intervention; and the Russian war profited the Danubian peoples. Greece, too, saw her opportunity, and, starting an outbreak in Thessaly, prepared to use it. With threats and with promises she was quieted. The dismemberment must not come too fast. At San Stefano Russia dictated terms to Turkey: but the other Powers had the last word; and at Berlin Russia was shorn of the fruits of her victory.

In the treaty framed by the Berlin Congress in 1878, Roumania, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro,—every little state except Greece,—were taken care of. Greece ardently desired Thessaly and Epirus. In the thirteenth protocol of the Berlin Congress (an ill-omened number), she was given the promise of an increase of territory, as in the interest of the peace of Europe. The frontier suggested was to run from the Salembria to Kalamos on the Ionian Sea. This would include Janina as well as Larissa. But, unfortunately, no specific annexation was decided on: Greece was merely encouraged to negotiate with Turkey directly. The Congress also declared that the Greek provinces of Turkey, with Crete, should, in accordance with the Treaty of San Stefano, receive autonomy, secured by a European guarantee; and the Powers were to offer their good offices toward this end. And so, with respect to the Greeks and to Greece, everything was left to the future. In the Treaty itself there was only this reference:—

"If the Porte and Greece shall not succeed in agreeing upon the rectification of frontier indicated in the Thirteenth Protocol of the Congress of Berlin, Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia reserve the right of mediation to help out the two parties in their negotiations."—ART. xxiv.

Could anything have been vaguer? Like the reforms promised by the Porte in Epirus, Thessaly, and Crete, this indefinite proviso needed pressure to be realized. Accordingly the Greeks, taking to heart the experience of the past, began to agitate, in order to obtain a hearing and their treaty rights. This plan worked. The Berlin Conference was reopened to discuss the Greek frontier; but no Greek representative was admitted. This was ominous. Montenegro, also, found it hard to get her treaty rights. Clearly more agitation was needed; so the Greeks made ready to seize Epirus and Thessaly. The Powers prevented such an impertinence, but called a fresh conference at Constantinople for the following year (1881). This failed to make good the promises of the Berlin Congress; but, after a tedious diplomatic struggle, it did award Thessaly and an insignificant portion of Epirus to Greece. Turkey had offered to cede Crete and to allow a

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slight rectification of frontier; but the Powers, under the lead of Great Britain, insisted upon the cession of Thessaly, with a frontier which followed the mountain-divide north of the Vale of Tempe, crossed the principal branch of the Salembria River, ran along the mountain-crest westerly, then struck and descended the Arta to its mouth in the gulf of that name. This was as much as could be wrung out of Turkey, unless as the result of a successful war waged by Greece against her.

Though accepting this line, Greece was far from being satisfied with it, and in 1886 armed, and tried to seize Epirus. Once more the Concert asserted itself, and, by a month's pacific blockade of the Greek coast, put on the straitjacket. This brings us to the threshold of present events. The narrative illustrates also—and this is my immediate object—the constant control of Greek affairs which the Concert has asserted. Greece has been created, enlarged, restrained, bullied, and rewarded according to the dictates of the moment. The Concert gave and the Concert hath taken away,—yet the name of the Concert has not been altogether blessed.

In the light of this constant intervention, to speak of the equality of Greece in the family of nations, in any other than an abstract sense, is an absurdity. Whatever the law, whatever her rights, in fact she has been a protected state under the care of a committee of the Powers, whose policy has been shifting, contradictory, the result of compromise, but with this end ever in view,—to avoid the danger of a general embroilment. This danger is not imaginary. Even a trivial outbreak, if not sternly dealt with, may bring it on. It is the alternative to the maintenance of the Concert. It means widespread destruction of credits, public and private. It means new frontiers, perhaps new states. It means the unknown. For half a century and more, it has been the nightmare of Europe. Fear of it is the key to the situation.

Let us turn now to the present complication. Once more Greece has disturbed the peace and quiet of the Concert. Animated by a strong sense of nationality and of sympathy for those of her race still under Turkish rule; smarting, too, under the failure to secure that increase of domain of which the Treaty of Berlin held out the expectation, she has put in practice once again the well-proved policy of growth by agitation. She has rights under treaty which cannot be realized; and so in truth have others. Russia has never been paid the Turkish indemnity promised at San Stefano. Crete and Epirus have never been granted autonomy or the reforms prescribed at Berlin. Without multiplying instances, it is enough to say that international law and treaty

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obligations have fared hardly at the hands of all parties. When Lord Salisbury declared, therefore, that the policy of the Powers was to preserve peace by the strict observance of international obligations, we must interpret him liberally. For *observance* perhaps he meant *avoidance*.

The trouble began in Crete. During 1895 the humanity and moral sense of the civilized world had been shocked by one of those strange outbreaks of Turkish ferocity, which are so foreign to our ideas of economics, of religion, of law, as to be incomprehensible. Accordingly, when, early in 1897, a similar catastrophe seemed to be impending in Crete, the Christian world, particularly in Greece, took alarm. This was the more natural, as only thirty years earlier—and since then also—frightful cruelties had been committed in this same island by the Turks, while putting down a popular rising.

By the first week in February, the fighting throughout Crete had become general. The result is well known. Anarchy spread. Five thousand Christians in Canea were defeated, sought refuge upon the shipping in the harbor, and were carried to Greece. It was announced that the Porte intended to land more troops and restore authority. Then the Greek king determined to risk his throne, and sent a fleet to Crete to deport fugitives and prevent Turkish reinforcements. Possibly he would have risked his throne had he *not* sent it. Col. Vassos, with an expedition of two thousand men, was also landed on the island; and the Cretans flocked to his standard. Then the Powers interfered as in duty bound, sent ships to Crete, landed marines, tried to protect the weak of all races, and even fired upon the Christian insurgents. Their policy was to set up an autonomous government under the suzerainty of the Porte, enforcing the withdrawal of the Greek troops, and leaving a small Turkish garrison.

To secure obedience, as an *ultimatum* they ordered the evacuation of the Greek force in six days. The Greek reply was a refusal, couched, however, in moderate and conciliatory terms. It pleaded for annexation rather than autonomy, argued that order could be maintained only by Greek troops, and suggested a plebiscite.

In all this, Greece was technically in the wrong. She had not been charged with the carrying out of Cretan reforms; so that in landing Vassos in Crete she was invading the rights of Turkey, Crete's master, without legal or treaty warrant. What the real spring of Greek action was, we cannot say.

Yet whatever intrigue may lie hidden, whatever assurances may have been given to King George, whatever political necessity thus found ex-

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pression, the action was entirely in line with much that had gone before; and the general object must have been to gain territory at the expense of Turkey, by worrying the Concert. As usual, the Concert responded by pressure. The curious details of its blockade of the Cretan coast are fresh in mind. It may be remarked, however, that this pacific-blockade usage is an abomination, a contradiction in terms. While denying the existence of war, it claims the rights of war. It is pure coercion applied by the strong to the weak. If the neutral trader is subjected to it, it is certainly illegal. Had there been traffic between Crete and the United States to be affected by it, our government should have declined to submit to such an imposition.

Bottled up in Crete, Greece continued her agitation in the north, mobilizing troops, and sending them to the Thessalian frontier. Turkey did the same; yet neither party desired to seem the aggressor. The Powers threatened an extension of their blockade to Greece itself, and warned both parties in these terms: "The Powers, being firmly resolved to maintain the general peace, have decided not to permit the aggressor in any case to reap the least advantage from such aggression."

The gathering forces remained inactive until the middle of April. While the two were manœuvring for position, certain irregular troops, equipped by the Greek patriotic society, Ethnikè Hetairia, were sent over the borders into both Epirus and Macedonia, to break communications and raise the country. This was an act for which, in spite of its disclaimer, the Greek government must be held responsible, as our own would be should it permit Fenian filibusters to raid across our frontier into Canada.

This movement caused the Concert great concern; nor had it adequate means of prevention. A Greek force penetrating Macedonia might be the signal for attack upon the Turkish flank by Montenegro and Servia and Bulgaria: it threatened just what the Powers were strenuously trying to guard against,—the break-up of Turkey-in-Europe before they were ready for it. No wonder then that Turkey had their sympathy and their backing. To their relief, these irregulars were driven back; but not until they had "drawn" Turkey. War was not declared: it came unheralded. Both contestants addressed circulars to the Powers, each charging the other with responsibility for the war. The Turkish circular disclaimed the idea of conquest, and promised to make peace if Greece withdrew her army from Crete and the Thessalian frontier; while Greece based her action upon the right of self-defence, and claimed an invasion of her soil.

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Of the conduct and strategy of the war, it is too soon to speak. So far as appears, both combatants have observed the rules of modern warfare. The stories of Turkish barbarities have no authority and have been contradicted. The Turkish peasant farmer has shown his endurance, patience, and splendid soldierly qualities, as often before. The impotence of the Greek fleet is a puzzle. Perhaps Capt. Mahan has led us to expect too much from fleets. They can be effective only where circumstances permit. In 1870 they played no part. Here there was no army to carry and convoy, as in Corea, no rival fleet to engage, no capital city to attack with any chance of success.

Still we expected at least the appearance of activity, descents upon the coast, bombardments of fortified places, the landing of expeditionary forces to break communications and raise the country. Of this sort of work there has been little. May not the true explanation be, that the Powers warned the Greek government that the fleet must engage in no offensive work, under penalty of a blockade or even of its destruction. Such a demand might have shocked the moral sense of France and England, but would have been consistent with the policy of the Concert. The most significant facts in the contest have been: the sympathy of the civilized world for Greece, and the support given by European governments to Turkey. The breaking out of the war brought the Powers anxiety indescribable; for Servia and Bulgaria began to mobilize and to formulate their demands. Its progress restored their equanimity and apparent control of the situation; and Servia and Bulgaria subsided.

There came a moment in May when the reins slipped in the Concert's grasp. The fighting spirit of the Turk was up. Flushed with victory, he acted as if he were at liberty to reap its fruits. He aped the pretensions of a Power. Having conquered the whole of Thessaly, he actually threatened to keep it, and to insist upon a big indemnity besides, or else to refuse an armistice. But it was only for a moment. He was reminded of the warning at the outset, that, whatever the result of the war might be, neither party could be allowed to benefit by it. The Concert was a unit in denouncing his assurance; and the Porte speedily yielded.

In that speech of Lord Salisbury's, already quoted, he said further:

"The peculiarity of this strange crisis is that the war cannot be left to work out its natural results. It is impossible that Europe should allow Christian communities to fall under the Sultan's government. But it must not be supposed, because this doctrine throws its ægis over Greece, that, therefore, she is to be free from all penalties attaching to unwise or unrighteous action."

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And again, speaking of both belligerents: "in the dim future no one could know to which of the two it might become necessary to appeal for a solution of problems that must be solved."

If this is to be construed as the voice of the Concert, it lays down with sufficient clearness the settlement intended,—a money indemnity, but no substantial cession of territory. Turkey, of course, must have something to show for her victory, else there might be an inconvenient and fanatical popular outbreak. This something, if it took the shape of hard cash, would undoubtedly suit the Sultan best, and perhaps the badly paid army likewise; but, the European creditors of Greece would hardly contemplate with equanimity fixed charges ahead of their own, and specifically secured as theirs are not. So that we may look to see the war indemnity pared down to the lowest sum practicable. A rectification of frontier in the Turkish interest is hardly necessary; for the present line, strategically speaking, is favorable enough.

It is true the Powers may have a struggle to enforce such terms; for, after all, they are playing with edged tools. Like the knives which the juggler whirls up into the air and catches with either hand, a slip or a falter, with them, may mean bloodshed. Yet Turkey is the ward of the Concert, no less than Greece,—a sullen, obstinate, disagreeable ward, yielding obedience under pressure only. It is improbable, one might venture to say impossible, that Turkey should set up its own will against the united will of the Powers. And at the present moment, in spite of the presence of its victorious army upon Christian soil, Turkey is weaker than ever. Her fleet has proved itself worthless; a hint of permission from her masters would let loose upon her two, if not three, separate attacks from the Balkan peoples. Each year reduces her, not to bankruptcy,—that she does not mind,—but nearer to inability to raise any money at all; though, in truth, it appears that a bankrupt state, like a bankrupt railway, is peculiarly adapted for war. And more than all this, the Armenian atrocities have so kindled public opinion in certain quarters as to make any policy of Turkish support far more difficult. She may delude herself for a moment with the idea that she can stand alone; but the dream cannot be realized. The same mighty forces are at work. The actors in this little tragedy are but as flies upon the wheel. The problem of the century still presses for solution.

And now, if our statement of this problem in its broadest aspect be correct, the present crisis may be, and should be made to serve as, a step onward. For Crete is still on the hands of the Powers. If Turkey is, and for seventy years has been, in process of dismemberment; if it is

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the policy and to the interest of Christian Europe that the Turkish sovereignty should be expelled gradually,—avoiding the dangerous aggrandizement of any one state, and avoiding a general convulsion,—then here is an opportunity. Crete must never go back to Turkey. It has suffered in the past as much as Bulgaria or Armenia from Turkish massacre. Reforms have been promised it, in treaty terms, which have never been realized. Self-government and a withdrawal of Turkish troops are now pledged to it, under conditions to ensure order.

This and more should be given it. Its eventual lot should be decided by its own plebiscite; so that, after a certain probation, under the guardianship of the Powers, Crete might be annexed to Greece, if it so willed; but so that in any event it should be free from Turkish control forever. Its union with Greece is natural; whether the latter is to be regarded as an eventual heir of Turkey or not. Greece is a maritime state capable of maintaining the connection. The two are alike in race, religion, and speech. The union could balk no lawful and proper ambitions. Such disposition would follow the line of least resistance.

Can the gradual settlement of the Eastern problem here outlined continue to a final issue? Who will succeed Turkey? These are great questions and variously answered. "I am the heir," declares the Russian. "The apple must sometime drop into my capacious lap. I have waited. I can wait." "I am the heir," cries the Slav in the Balkans. "I am young and lusty. I look forward and not back. Give me the spoils, make of me and mine one solid state, and the problem is solved." "I am the heir," says the Greek, "the heir of the ages. I represent beauty and civilization and the mighty past. My speech, my blood, are spread wide over the Levant. Drive out and keep out the barbarian. The golden age will come again." But we recall the religious intolerance, the boundless ambition, the awful despotism of Russia, and draw back. The blood of Stambuloff cries out against Bulgaria, and she stands but a puppet in another's hands. Nor has Greece deserved that noblest word of praise, "Thou hast been faithful over a few things: I will make thee ruler over many things."

And so the problem is ever the same: its solution approaches ever so slowly; and statesmen bend all their energies to avert the dreaded catastrophe. Greece has our sympathy, our pity, our affection; but we can see and make allowance for the generation-long struggle of the Powers also,—a struggle which takes on every aspect, of heartless cruelty, of generous concession, of blind fear. And the object of it is peace—when there is no peace.

THEODORE S. WOOLSEY.

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THE RIGHTS OF FOREIGNERS IN TURKEY.

THE attention of the world has of late been so often called to the anomalous position of the Ottoman Empire in the modern family of nations, and the peculiar relations which have grown up as the sole *modus vivendi* between it and its Christian neighbors are so imperfectly understood by Americans in general, that a brief explanation of the origin and growth of these relations seems to be called for; the more so as our own relations with the Empire have recently assumed an unusual importance and gravity.

The Sublime Porte has long maintained with the outside world the externals, at least, of international comity. It has in foreign lands its embassies, legations, consulates, and agencies. It is bound to other nations by various treaties and conventions, some of them dating from the last century. Foreign capital and enterprise have endowed it with a semblance of material civilization; and it has even been admitted into the Universal Postal Union. But this admission to a *quasi*-equality with the nations about her has been accorded to Turkey, not as a matter of right, but of favor. It is the result of a series of concessions made by the other Powers for the benefit of the foreign element, in whose hands the commerce and industries of the country chiefly rest. The great Powers have, more than once, categorically refused to concede to the Turks, *quâ* Turks, equal rights with other independent nations.

Turkey is still in many respects a mediæval power, maintaining unchanged the religious and administrative traditions of the fifteenth century. The Ottomans have never assimilated the modern and Western culture. The "Young Turk" party, which has essayed to do this, is under the imperial proscription. The Turk has always camped in Europe, not built himself a home there. The *Rayas* (native Christians)—the still surviving populations of the conquered Byzantine provinces—have never been admitted to citizenship of any sort in the Empire; they have even been systematically excluded from the army, and deprived of any semblance of equal rights with the Moslems. Turkey has, in short, wholly failed to vindicate her claim to her con-

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quered European provinces by the benefits of an ordinarily decent and far-seeing government.

It is because of the utterly irreconcilable antagonism between the mediæval Turkish system and modern ideas that the Powers have refused to Turkey the position and rights of an equal. Not only do they interfere in both the foreign and domestic affairs of the Porte, but they have always insisted on exacting for their own citizens in Turkey rights and privileges which they would not for a moment think of granting in return to Turks in their own domains. These peculiar rights and immunities, recognized in formal treaties, and made common to all the Treaty Powers by "most favored nation" clauses, are based on what are called the "Capitulations." These charters lie at the foundation of all intercourse between Turkey and the civilized world; and their origin and significance should be clearly understood by everyone who has more than a passing interest in Oriental affairs.

The Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire are a series of grants of privilege and immunity, accorded by various sultans to those Christian nations with which they have desired to maintain commercial or political intercourse. The name is derived from the sections or *capitula* into which they are divided. They were not originally treaties; for no Moslem could, under the Sacred Law,—the *Shariyé Sharîf*,—treat with Christian Powers as equals. "Mohammedan jurisprudence," says Van Dyck, "recognizes between Mohammedan and non-Mohammedan nations but one category of relations—that of *Djehâd* or Holy War."[1] By the Sacred Law all Giaours (Christian dogs) are under the ban. Yet, although devoted to destruction, they may be spared for a season, whenever this is for the advantage of Islam. Now the Mohammedan conquerors were a people neither commercial nor seafaring by instinct. It accordingly became necessary in the Middle Ages to encourage commerce with the West by concessions to the traders of Christendom; and it was this necessity which produced the Capitulations. These were called *Ahd-Namah* or *Tamassûk;* that is, letters of privilege, sworn promises, as from a superior to an inferior. They were concessions made from a purely selfish motive,—that of supplying the new empire with the commercial advantages and industries which the warlike conquerors were themselves incapable of maintaining; and there was neither the effort nor the desire to secure reciprocal

[1] VAN DYCK'S "Report on the Capitulations of the Ottoman Empire," in Senate Documents 1880–81, vol. III. I desire to express my great indebtedness to this admirable and exhaustive Report.

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privileges for Turks in foreign lands. A Turkish colony under a Christian ruler did not enter the conqueror's mind as even a remote possibility.

The earliest authentic Capitulations appear to have been those granted by the sultans of various Mediterranean Arab states, in the twelfth century, to Florence and Pisa. These antedate by nearly three hundred years the first of the Turkish grants,—that made by Mehmet the Conqueror to the Genoese in 1453. Genoa at that time led in the commerce of Constantinople; maintaining in that city a merchant colony with its own municipal administration and *Podestà*. Traces of the town-wall and a portion of the Palazzo del Podestà of the Genoese *faubourg* are still visible in the quarter called Galata; and the Genoese watch-tower still dominates the north side of the Golden Horn. The Venetians were the chief rivals of the Genoese; and to them the Conqueror gave a Capitulation in the following year.

The privileges thus accorded were confirmed and enlarged repeatedly by Mehmet II himself, and by subsequent sultans. In 1528 Francis I secured from Soliman I, by a Capitulation, the confirmation of privileges previously accorded to the French and Catalans. This in its turn was confirmed and extended by later monarchs; the most notable of its enlargements being that secured, in 1740, by Louis XV from Mahmûd I, by which the rights, privileges, and immunities of the French religious establishments—churches, hospitals, missions, schools, and monasteries—were defined and greatly augmented. It is by the application of the "most favored nation" clause to this Capitulation that the same rights and immunities are enjoyed by all the Treaty Powers; and it is under its protection that the beneficent work of the American missions has been conducted for nearly seventy years. The earliest Capitulation to the English dates from 1579 (Murâd [Amurath] III to Elizabeth); those to Holland, Austria, Russia, and Prussia following respectively in 1598, 1606, 1711, and 1761.

With the gradual decay of the Ottoman Power and the advance of the Christian nations, the Sublime Porte has been compelled to confirm and perpetuate these one-sided grants by formal treaties, in spite of the Sacred Law. In these treaties it is the Christian Powers who refuse to enter into relations of reciprocal equality with Turkey. They refuse because of the unchangeable character of Islam. No jot or tittle of the Sacred Law has been, or ever can be, abrogated. No such thing exists, under Islam, as international law or the inherent rights of humanity. Death is still the only rightful portion of the unbeliever in the Faith.

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There is, outside of the Capitulations or of compulsion by external power, no right of legation, no immunity of ambassadors, no right to the protection of life and property, to trial by one's peers, to immunity from arrest without due process of law, to testify in court, to be represented by an advocate, to travel, to carry on business, even to live, for any one not a Moslem. This is no mere theory: it is a fact, which of late has received awful proofs in Armenia. The Law of Nations is absolutely incompatible with Mohammedan principles. What, therefore, the Capitulations granted in 1453 to the Christians, as a necessity for the advantage of the Turk, the Christians now cling to and insist upon for their own advantage, as their only protection from the arbitrary and cruel oppressions of a Power which asks to be received into the comity of civilized nations, while rejecting every principle upon which that comity is based. The Capitulations are now the price of the friendship and amity of the civilized world towards Turkey.

Since 1861 every treaty has contained an identical clause,[1] making available for each Power all rights bestowed upon any other; so that with respect to the Capitulations, all Treaty Powers stand on a level. The several Capitulations, however various in form, entitle the foreigner in Turkey to the following privileges and immunities:—

I. Permission to enter Turkish territory, to navigate Turkish waters, and to travel, alike for trade and for pilgrimage, to holy places.

II. Freedom to follow the customs of one's own country, and to perform the rites and fulfil the duties of one's own religion.

III. Exemption from all taxes or tribute except customs duties.

IV. Judgment by one's own ambassador or consul in civil or criminal suits with a fellow-countryman, and enforcement of the decision by the help of the local authorities.

V. Civil causes between natives and foreigners tried in the local courts must be heard in the presence of the consul or his dragoman.

VI. So also in case of crimes of foreigners against natives, the consul or his dragoman must be present at the trial.

(In the more recent treaties, however, the jurisdiction in such cases is with the consul, not with the local courts; and under "most favored nation" clauses this provision is insisted upon by all the Powers, our own included. It is also specified that any foreigner arrested by the

[1] "All the rights, privileges, and immunities that the Sublime Porte now grants, or may hereafter grant, to the subjects, vessels, commerce, or navigation of any other foreign Power, the enjoyment of which it shall tolerate, shall likewise be accorded, and the exercise of the enjoyment of the same shall be allowed, to the subjects, ships, commerce, and navigation of. . . ."

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local authorities shall be taken to the nearest consul of his nation, if not more than nine hours distant (about 27 miles): if there be none within that distance, he may be put in the local prison, and the legation or nearest consul notified.)

VII. Inviolability of the foreigner's domicile by Ottoman officers, unless accompanied by a deputy of the ambassador or consul, and then only in cases of urgent necessity.

VIII. The right of bequest, and of the administration by the consul of the estates of intestate foreigners of his nation.

IX. Prohibition of the extension to Ottomans or *Rayas* of protection and asylum by foreign ambassadors and consuls.

All these privileges belong of right to Americans[1] in Turkey; and nearly every one of them, at one time or another, has had to be invoked in their behalf. The most precious, and at the same time, to an American mind, the most anomalous of these privileges, is that of *ex-territoriality*, involved in the fourth, fifth, and sixth paragraphs of the above list. This recognizes the foreigner as practically under the jurisdiction of the courts of his own country, and amenable to their procedure. Although subject to all local laws and police regulations, and to arrest by the local authorities, he is under the constant protection of his own government, and must be tried by the consular courts, except in certain civil actions specified in the treaties. Thus in 1879, P. Mirzan, a naturalized American citizen, was tried before our Minister, Hon. Horace Maynard, for the murder of an Ottoman subject, Dr. Dahan, in Alexandria. He was sentenced to death; but, upon the commutation of his sentence, by President Hayes, to imprisonment for life, he was sent to the United States, where he died in prison some years later.

This singular restriction of the authority of the Porte within its own dominions is not unique in international relations. It is only within the last three years that the privileges of ex-territoriality have been abrogated in Japan by recently signed treaties with other Powers: they are still exacted of the Chinese government. Their justification, indeed their reason of existence, lies in the irresponsible and untrustworthy character of the courts and legal procedure of a country as yet imperfectly civilized. When one realizes that the testimony of a Christian is invalid in the Turkish courts, unless corroborated by a Moslem; that the word of one Moslem, however notoriously dishonest

[1] By Article IV of the Treaty of 1830; by the Treaty of 1862 (though this is claimed by Turkey to have expired); and by *adet* (usage) established or admitted by numerous official acts.

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he may be, outweighs legally the testimony of a dozen reputable Christians; and that legally valid Moslem testimony is often openly for sale or hire, one begins to understand how necessary is some such protection against denials of justice.

Second only to this provision of the Capitulations in value, as a protection against arbitrary arrest and oppression, is the inviolability of the foreigner's domicile. The right of judicial or police visitation and search is not conceded to the Turkish government, for the simple reason that it cannot be trusted to exercise such a right with discretion or justice. The foreigner's house is his castle, even more truly than the Briton's house in his own island. The Turkish policeman and the military officer alike must stop at the door or gate of the foreigner's premises and wait for permission to enter. Not even the Sultan can pass the threshold against the owner's will, except in the company of a duly appointed deputy from the embassy or nearest consulate.

Such a restriction of the police functions of the government would, of course, not be tolerated by any Power not under foreign tutelage. In the Middle Ages, when all government was arbitrary and more or less irresponsible, such provisions and limitations of authority were not uncommon. Exemption from domiciliary visitation was in those days conceded by the sultans as an inducement to foreigners to settle in the Empire. It is now insisted upon by the Powers, because the conditions which made it necessary in 1453 have not been sensibly ameliorated.

Among many instances of its operation, I may cite one as an illustration. In 1894, the Turkish officials in the province of Aleppo, having accused certain of the Armenian professors in the American college at Aintab of conspiracy and sedition, and the college authorities of aiding and abetting the conspiracy, demanded permission to search the premises. Had this been accorded without reserve, there is not the slightest doubt but that the wished-for incriminating evidence would have been forthcoming, smuggled in by the officers appointed to discover it. Mr. Riddle, our efficient Secretary of Legation, was sent by the United States Minister, Mr. Terrell, to accompany the officers in the search, in accordance with this clause of the Capitulations. The officers were not in any way interfered with by the Secretary in the performance of their duties; but they were closely watched from beginning to end. They were obliged to confess that they could not discover the slightest shred of evidence to support their allegations.

The Capitulations are a necessity of the situation. Only by their protection is the resident foreigner enabled to live, travel, worship, and

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do business without fear of constant interference and oppression. As it is, his life is not free from worries. The Capitulations do not relieve him from the operation of local municipal and police regulations; and these are sufficiently oppressive and contradictory to make life burdensome. The stupidity and caprice of officials, the confusion and clash of authority, the utter lack of coördination and system in and between the different departments of the government, and the venality and corruption in every branch of the administration, both local and imperial, are inconceivable to anyone who has not experienced them personally.

A word should be said concerning the French Capitulations of 1740, as it is largely under their provisions that foreign missions and charitable institutions carry on their work. These Capitulations, extended to Great Britain by the Treaty of 1809, and made of universal application by "most favored nation" clauses since 1861, not only recognize the right of foreign communions to maintain missions, monasteries, hospitals, and schools in the Empire, but invite and encourage them to do so by granting peculiar privileges to such institutions. Among these privileges is the specific exemption from customs duties of a portion of their annual importations of materials and supplies. Foreign missions, in other words, have been welcomed by the Turkish government, as conducing to the general welfare and prosperity of the *Raya* populations, and hence of the Empire. This attitude dates from 1740, as already stated, and has been traditional with the government until very recent years. Abdul Aziz in 1864 even enacted these privileges and exemptions into the organic law of the land by a special edict or *tanzimat*. It is a wholly mistaken view which sees in the foreign missions in Turkey, of whatever communion or nationality, an enterprise forced upon Turkey against her will, seeking to overthrow the established religion and national institutions,[1] and tolerated only by the great long-suffering of a too patient government.

The Capitulations are, as we have said, a mediæval conception, remaining in force to-day simply because Turkey has not yet emerged from mediæval conditions.[2] Yet she is restive under their implied re-

[1] There are no missions to the Moslems. The existing missions, except one or two to the Jews, confine their efforts to the native Christian communities.

[2] As late as the beginning of this century, the mediæval Moslem conception of treaties, as concessions to be paid for in cash, appears in the "treaties" concluded by the United States with Algiers, Barbary, and Tunis, 1786–1805. For that of 1786 with Barbary, Abd-er-Rahman demanded $150,000 tribute. That of 1795 with Algiers cost the United States $992,000, of which a large part was trib-

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proach; and it is not surprising that she has taken occasion, by her recent victories in Greece, to demand their abrogation with respect to that country. It is very certain that the Greeks would rather make almost any other sacrifice than yield to this condition; and it is equally certain that the Powers would never tolerate the enforcement of Turkey's demand. When in 1856, by the Treaty of Paris, the Ottoman Empire was admitted to a qualified membership in the political family of European nations, the maintenance of the Capitulations was a part of the price of the favor. Smarting under this reproach, the Ottoman plenipotentiary at the Paris Conference begged for the modification of this condition. The reply of the Congress was the famous "Protocol of 1856," couched in the following language:—

"The plenipotentiaries recognize that the Capitulations belong to a situation to whose termination the Treaty of Peace must necessarily tend, and that the privileges stipulated in them circumscribe the authority of the Porte within regrettably narrow limits; that there is occasion for conciliatory concessions; but that it is important to proportion these to the reforms which Turkey may introduce into her administration, so as to combine these guarantees with such as result from the measures *carried into execution* by the Porte *(dont la Porte poursuit l'application)*."

Many and brilliant the reforms the Porte has placed upon paper, as admirable in substance as in their beautiful Arabic calligraphy; but when and where has the Porte ever "pursued the application" of one among them all?

The Capitulations are the charter of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for the foreign resident in Turkey. The Porte can hardly expect to see them repealed or seriously modified until some other dynasty than that of Osman shall sit on the throne of the sultans, and some other race than that of the Seljûks sway the destinies of Macedonia, Thrace, the Epirus, and Asia Minor. No such fundamental reform as would justify their abrogation can be looked for under present conditions.

A. D. F. Hamlin.

ute-money, paid biennially under the guise of a "consular present." These payments ceased in 1815 only. Our war with Tripoli was a consequence of the Bashaw's demand for a similar "present"; and up to 1802, the maintenance of treaty relations with Turkey and its vassal states had cost the United States over two million dollars in tribute and presents.

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IS NON-PARTISANSHIP IN MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT FEASIBLE?

It sounds well and seems reasonable to urge that city government is primarily and principally a matter of business administration, and, therefore, that city elections should not be contested on party lines, but simply on local and personal issues. That I understand to be what is called non-partisanship in municipal affairs. Of what importance is it, asks the advocate of non-partisanship, whether the mayor of your city be Democrat or Republican on State or national issues? His duties are purely administrative and local: whether he believe in a high tariff or a low tariff, in a gold, a silver, or a bimetallic standard, or in paper money, in a strict construction of the Constitution or a free construction, is of no immediate importance in the discharge of the duties of his office. Fitness, honesty, and fearlessness are the essential qualifications; and fidelity to local interests, according to his conceptions and convictions, is the test by which he and his administration should be judged. Let men differ, if they will, say these reformers, over questions of State and Federal policy; only do not let their differences enter into municipal elections or administrations. Let that expression of citizenship be encouraged which, unhampered and uninfluenced by party affiliations, seeks to eliminate political considerations from local affairs, and to insure the conduct of city government upon business principles, according to business methods.

We hear much of such talk nowadays. So high an ideal, so specious a proposition, finds many a sincere supporter. Whether, as a remedy for municipal evils, it is practicable and effective, or whether it is impracticable and visionary, the discussion which it excites is helpful; and the sentiment behind it, when honest, promotes that healthy interest in public affairs which is essential to good government.

I have been asked by the Editor of The Forum to contribute to this discussion; and I shall be frank enough at the outset to state the conclusion to which my experience and observation have led me; namely, that anything approaching disinterested and successful non-partisanship in city government, however well intended, is, under

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existing conditions, almost impossible. I believe, therefore, that, for the present at least, municipal government is safer, as a rule, in the responsible hands of partisans than in the necessarily irresponsible and uncertain hands of non-partisans.

The movement for municipal non-partisanship has gained strength from two principal causes. One is the general tendency throughout the country toward a loosening of party ties. In the absence of intense issues there is an increasing number of independent voters, who cast their ballots first for the candidates and platform of one party, then for the candidates and platform of another party, as suits their convictions or their whims. This uncertain element has made elections uncertain; and victories have generally followed the course taken by the independent voters. Success has naturally magnified the importance of the Independent; and the revelation of his importance has produced the so-called professional Independent element in politics, which, conscious of possessing a probable balance of power, is not reluctant to use it; sometimes wisely, sometimes unwisely, sometimes fairly, sometimes unfairly, many times narrowly and whimsically. Behind that exercise of power is the undoubted conviction that the position of the Independent is the only logical and intelligent position in politics, when parties are evenly divided as to numbers, and not widely separated as to principles. The professional Independent element seeks aggressively to break down the lines of party: it is behind the demand for non-partisanship in municipal affairs; probably thinking, with reason, that a disposition and habit to break party ties in local elections will make easy a severance of party bonds in other elections. Independence, in their opinion, is intelligence; and intelligence in voting means a higher standard of official men and measures. The latter proposition we may admit to be indisputable, even if we regard the former assumption with scepticism, in view of certain political results not yet forgotten.

In addition to the impetus furnished to the non-partisan idea in municipal affairs by the growth of the Independent movement generally, a most important influence has been exerted by the apparent failures of some partisan governments in cities. We must confess that in some instances these have been conspicuous and humiliating. The exposure of jobbery, corruption, and extravagance—though often exaggerated in order to serve selfish interests—has rightly stirred communities with indignation, and induced citizens to join together irrespective of party for self-protection. To the extent that partisan government has accompanied such municipal evils, it has been compelled to bear

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their odium; and the success of the party in State and national contests has frequently been prevented by having to carry this heavy burden of administrative sins heaped up by local political adherents who, treacherous to party name and party principles, have used the party name to promote private plunder. But municipal failures have not been alone confined to local government by party. Some of the worst instances of maladministration have occurred under nominal non-partisanship; and, if we are to judge of partisan or non-partisan administrations solely by their failures, non-partisanship must be condemned as well as partisanship. Moreover, when the causes of failure of partisan municipal government are analyzed, it will be found that official plunder and knavery have succeeded chiefly when party ties have been weakening, when interest in party issues or organizations has waned, and when, by reason of such indifference, the bad men of a party are permitted to stain its good name as well as to ignore its principles. They must share the responsibility of failure and disgrace, therefore, whose indifference has encouraged or permitted such a political condition to exist.

There would be more to commend in non-partisanship in local affairs if the sentiment for it were more generally and absolutely honest. The fact is, however, that sincerity in the cause is confined to a comparative few, unable of themselves to exert much influence; so that the main support, under present conditions, must come from disaffected political factions and minorities who seek by such alliances to gain power.

A so-called citizens' movement, springing perhaps from actual and serious grievances, animated by the most unselfish interest, and intent only on the accomplishment of good, finds itself confronted with conditions as they exist, and compelled to use, in order to be successful, the very methods which non-partisanship deplores. This is the weakness of municipal non-partisanship. Representatives of Good Government clubs and other civic organizations confer, with a view to the nomination and election of a non-partisan ticket. Their actual numbers are small. Behind them is, we will say, an honest and praiseworthy sentiment, with but few votes and no disciplined or ramified organization. Watching them and encouraging them is the miscellaneous assortment of political "outs,"—organizations of disaffected elements, offshoots of the large parties, perhaps one of the large parties itself (now in the minority of course),—all chiefly animated by the desire for political success and the rewards and opportunities which come with it, willing to make loud professions of reform, and anxiously playing for position in a cam-

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paign to be opened. A succession of conferences follows; the first difficulty encountered being, as a rule, not any difference among the parleying representatives as to the principles or issues of the campaign, —for those are usually left to the original non-partisans,—but a difference as to the proportionate representation of the various political organizations on the ticket, and as to the availability of the names suggested for candidates.

Thus, at one bound, whether willing or not, those who fancy themselves developing and practising their theory of non-partisanship are plunged into the same kind of politics which they have condemned in parties. The ticket is nominated, not in convention by delegates duly chosen after public notice, but in a club corner, by self-appointed nominators. It gives thorough satisfaction to nobody; for it is a compromise of conflicting interests: the nominees are responsible to no one organization, but each considers himself the representative of the association by which he was put forward. The candidates are not usually the men the reformers want: for the ideal public officer is not always a vote-getter; and, of course, so practical a consideration as availability is not lost sight of even by these idealists. For the head of the ticket is often chosen, therefore, a neutral man, without positive qualities, and, consequently, free from antagonisms, whose actual qualifications for the office are unknown, however respectable he may be or however honest his intentions. The subordinate places on the ticket are filled with ex-office-holders out of a job, with men who have served one or another of the component elements making up the non-partisan conglomerate, or with men more or less trustworthy and capable, but not conspicuously fitted for the offices for which they are named. The German vote and the Irish vote are not forgotten in the selection of candidates. In short, the ideal non-partisanship has become a nondescript loose-jointed partisanship; nominations being determined in secret and by dicker, and elections contested by methods not perceptibly differing from those which are condemned as necessarily inseparable from party machinery.

Such non-partisan movements, when successful, usually culminate in a single victory. As might be expected from an alliance between so many diverse and uncertain elements, the results of victory are usually disappointing. Few so-called non-partisan administrations survive one experience: they die and are born again in different shapes after a lapse of time. The untried, unknown candidates sometimes exhibit excellent qualifications in office, but are more often administrative fail-

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ures, if not actual disgraces. Among the officers who make up their administration, there is not the cohesiveness and harmony which usually characterize participants in partisan government; but jealousies and irresponsibility bring the administration into contempt or ridicule, and frustrate mutual coöperation for the public good. The hope of renomination and reëlection, which, in the absence of higher motives, is an incentive toward a good record, is not present: for it is contrary to history and human nature to expect a successful remixing of such a variety of elements; and the official incumbent, if inclined to be careless or unfaithful, ignores or perverts the duties and responsibilities of his office.

The observation and memory of recent non-partisan movements in New York and Brooklyn confirm the conviction that the picture which I have presented is neither overdrawn nor unfair. I believe that the net result of the non-partisan movement which elected Mayor Strong has been of distinct advantage, in some respects, to the people of New York; but its merits have been confined to the services of a comparatively few men who have conducted their offices with conspicuous fidelity and intelligence. As a test or demonstration of what constitutes genuine non-partisanship, it has been a failure. Genuine non-partisanship was impossible from the time that the Committee of Seventy bargained with Stecklerites, O'Brienites, State Democrats, German Reform Democrats, Platt and Anti-Platt Republicans, for a union against Tammany; for non-partisanship was the thing least desired by most of the political organizations which combined with the Committee. They saw in combination a chance for factional success: they had nothing to lose, but probably something to gain, by such a fusion. They shouted with the Seventy for non-partisanship, and joined with vehemence in the denunciation of Tammany's alleged wickedness and extravagance in its administration of city government. When the election brought a victory, there was a distribution of municipal offices. Were they filled with the conspicuously fit, irrespective of party, according to the non-partisan idea? Not at all. They were carefully parcelled out, according to the most extreme partisan methods, to those who had contributed votes to the election of the new administration, and in proportion to the number of votes contributed. With nice exactness and with fine appreciation, the new mayor rewarded one by one the associations which had combined for his election; and, in his desire to be fair in this recognition, he occasionally made the natural mistake of appointing unfit men. These objection-

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able appointments have been obstacles to his administration; and he seems to have had neither sympathy nor coöperation from the appointees in his effort to give the people good government. No sense of party obligation holds them; and no party is responsible for them.

Of course all this is very far from the platform of non-partisanship on which Mayor Strong was elected. The spirit is that of partisanship without the restraining influences of party attachment and responsibility. Yet no better opportunity for the promotion and illustration of non-partisanship has been afforded than that offered by the campaign and administration of Mayor Strong. Public sentiment, as expressed through the newspapers and in the pulpits, strongly favored and expected it; and the candidate's earnestness and sincerity were unquestioned. The fact that so-called non-partisan government has ignominiously failed under such favorable conditions, strengthens the conviction that, as human nature is at present constituted, and as conditions at present exist, genuine non-partisanship in local affairs is too ideal, is impossible of attainment. Much more practicable and effective is a party government, held to strict accountability by a watchful public, which knows then where to locate responsibility for misdoings, and can administer discipline with telling effect either at the primaries or in the voting-booths.

Partisanship in city government differs from non-partisanship in being a reflection of conditions as they exist—not as they ought to be. Nine-tenths of the voters, more or less, get their politics, like their religion, in the cradle. Party and church lines are closely drawn about them during life. It is only the exceptional man who breaks away from the political environment and atmosphere to which he has been used; and his separation is the result of conviction, association, or selfishness. Party divisions or organizations have always existed, and probably always will. It is not essential, of course, as the non-partisans urge, that divisions on State and national issues should extend to purely local issues. But they do thus extend; and it is the most natural thing that the same parties which, through the machinery supplied by their organization, present candidates to the people's suffrages at State and Federal elections, should, by the same process, put forward candidates for local offices, and wage these contests on party lines.

Illogical and unreasonable as division on party lines in municipal contests may be called, I do not see that, in itself, it is an evil: I do feel that it is often a powerful bulwark to the cause of order and good government. Where universal suffrage prevails, as it does in America, and

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no qualification of intelligence or property is imposed, it is a very fortunate thing that men are divided into parties, and that the strength of party ties is able to restrain the ignorant, the depraved, the impetuous from the advocacy of dangerous doctrines, or the support of unsafe men. In the great cities of New York and Brooklyn, where so large a proportion of the voters are of foreign birth, and where there are so many ignorant persons easily swayed by un-American influences, the restraint laid upon that element by the powerful political organizations, with their clubs and workers in every election district, has many times been the greatest protection to good government in those cities, and must still continue to be to the government of Greater New York. To encourage political independence among the ignorant and vicious, and to break down the power of political organizations which hold these in check, is to stimulate anarchy and to open the way for socialistic attacks upon property. The possible evils of partisan government had better long be endured than to incur any risk of delivering the city over to the power of such dangerous elements.

Conceding, moreover, as the advocates of non-partisanship do, that party divisions and organizations are needed and desirable in State and national politics,—although logically it would seem that, if the theory of non-partisanship were sound in local politics, it should apply equally in larger politics,—the best way to keep alive and active organizations for the success of political principles that concern State and Federal governments, is by encouraging party activity in municipal affairs. A battle for tariff reform or honest money might be lost, if party activity were reserved only for Federal elections. Municipal politics frequently appeal directly to the party organization; and, while it is true that a candidate's ideas or opinions on the tariff or money question do not affect his ability to discharge municipal duties faithfully and satisfactorily, and that for this reason division on party lines is unnecessary, nevertheless, such divisions are not only harmless, if properly directed, but absolutely essential for effective party work in the wider fields of political activity.

Behind any defence of municipal government by party, however, must stand the imperative condition that the party organization be intelligent, honest, and broad-minded. Corrupt and incapable local organizations cannot give good local government, and are a menace to party success in either State or national contests. But with clean men directing party effort, encouraging the nomination of good men for office, and insisting upon honest, faithful public service as a condition

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for rewards, municipal government is safe in partisan hands, and evils which have grown up under control by party need not exist.

My suggestion, therefore, to those who deplore partisanship in municipal affairs, is to think carefully before they try to break down local political organizations, lest, in doing so, they invite from unseen sources graver dangers than have yet confronted us, and evils not so easily eradicated as those which might be due to corrupt party government.

The more practical and useful effort is to build up, purify, and broaden political organizations, so that their great power may be more effectively wielded for good government, whether in the city, the State, or the nation. A constant watchful citizenship, yielding its support to the party which renders the best public service, can accomplish much more permanent good by working through an existing and well-developed organization than by spasmodic efforts in methods which both experience and common sense indicate to be ineffective and uncertain.

ROSWELL P. FLOWER.

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MAYOR STRONG'S EXPERIMENT IN NEW YORK CITY.

THE old city of New York is approaching the end of its official existence. It is a noteworthy circumstance that its last mayor should have inaugurated an experiment in the non-partisan administration of municipal affairs, as distinguished from one under the auspices and control of a political party. For several years there has been a steady growth of public opinion in favor of the separation of municipal affairs from State and national politics. This sentiment had already attained substantial proportions prior to 1894. During the first six months of that year there was an exposure of corruption in the Police Department of the city of New York which startled the people of the entire State. This exposure was the result of the "Lexow Investigation."

The situation was well stated in the platform of the Committee of Seventy:—

> "The government of the city of New York, in the hands of its present administrators, is marked by corruption, inefficiency, and extravagance: its municipal departments are not conducted in the interests of the city at large, but for private gain and partisan advantage. All classes of citizens, rich and poor alike, suffer under these conditions. This misgovernment endangers the health and morality of the community, and deprives its citizens of the protection of life and property to which they are entitled."

The Committee of Seventy was appointed at a citizens' meeting held on September 6, 1894. A platform was adopted affirming the necessity for a complete divorce of municipal government from party politics; and numerous conferences were held by the Committee with representatives of various organizations opposed to Tammany Hall, for the purpose of inducing them to unite upon that platform. Two large general conferences were held, to which all the anti-Tammany organizations were invited to send delegates. At the second of these meetings the announcement was made that the Committee of Seventy had decided to present a list of candidates, headed by William L. Strong for mayor. The reception of the ticket was not, at first, such as to promise unity of action; but no efforts were spared to bring this about. These efforts finally resulted in the formal endorsement of the ticket of

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the Committee of Seventy by the anti-Tammany organizations; and the candidates of the Committee were all elected by very large majorities.

The election was carried upon a great wave of popular indignation. It was succeeded by a buoyant state of expectancy. Men felt that the millennium in municipal affairs had arrived. There was a reaction as the people awoke to the realization of the fact that not everything they had hoped for was to be accomplished. This went on until, at the close of 1895, there was a general, deep feeling of disappointment—and even resentment in the minds of many—at what was deemed to be the failure of Mayor Strong's administration. This has been succeeded by a better spirit of satisfaction with the good that has been accomplished.

The first municipal election for Greater New York is at hand: public interest is aroused to the gravity of the problem presented in that election. Plans are already made to secure a union of the forces opposed to the principles and practices of Tammany Hall; and an appeal will be made to all citizens to join in an effort to secure a non-partisan business administration of municipal affairs, free from the control of any political organization. The answer to that appeal will be decided by the opinion of people on the comparative importance of the failures and successes of Mayor Strong's administration. The time is ripe for estimating the net results of his work.

No fair judgment can be formed without first considering the difficulties of Mayor Strong's position at the start. While the platform of the Committee of Seventy declared in the broadest terms that "municipal government should be entirely divorced from party politics and from selfish personal ambition or gain," the actual work of the Committee was directed to the point of securing the support of political organizations for that platform and for the candidates nominated upon it. The nominations were made upon a distinct plan of apportionment of certain places on the ticket to the political organizations which endorsed the platform. This was clearly recognized by Mr. Strong, and made the basis of his acceptance of the nomination of the Committee of Seventy. I quote in full his letter addressed to Mr. Joseph Larocque, chairman:—

"DEAR SIR:

The platform adopted by the 'Committee of Seventy' meets with my entire approval; and, if a majority of the anti-Tammany organizations, including the Republicans, in the city of New York approve of my nomination for mayor, with the distinct understanding that the affairs of the government of the city of New York shall be administered in the interests of good government, and absolutely non-partisan, then I shall be very willing to accept the nomination from all these

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organizations, and, if elected, shall adhere to this policy during my administration of the affairs of the city of New York, as mayor, and make all appointments without regard to party lines. Respectfully yours,

W. L. STRONG."

There are two specific points upon which pledges were made in the platform and in Mr. Strong's letter of acceptance:

I. That his appointments should be non-partisan.

II. That business principles, and not politics, should be his guide in the administration of municipal affairs.

There is no authoritative definition of a non-partisan appointment. If non-partisan appointments meant the appointment to office of men who had never had any connection with any political organization in the city of New York, the Mayor would have been confronted with two alternatives: He must either have appointed non-residents, or, residents who had been so indifferent to their civic duties that they had never made any effort to direct or control public opinion upon political questions. It will hardly be contended that the universal adoption of such a rule in appointments would have been well received or generally approved. Its success may well be doubted.

The appointment of men who have been active in the work of any political organization will always give some appearance of partisanship to a municipal government. This difficulty will confront any executive officer who is endeavoring to administer his office upon a non-partisan basis. In the case of Mayor Strong the difficulty was increased by the circumstances of his nomination and election. If he had appointed men, without any knowledge of their political connections, all his appointees might have been Republicans. This would not have been an improbable result, because his long affiliation with the Republican party had given him a wider acquaintance among its members. But such a result would have laid him open to the most serious charge of partisanship, which no disclaimer of intention could have dispelled. If each man appointed to an office had been competent to fulfil its duties, and had devoted himself solely to the public service, the fact that he belonged to and was proposed by one of the political organizations which endorsed the ticket of the Committee of Seventy would not have constituted a violation of the spirit of the movement that elected Mayor Strong. The Committee of Seventy itself had nominated men because they were members of those same organizations.

My view of non-partisanship is this: The officer does not administer his office under the control or for the benefit of the political organiza-

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tions to which he belongs, but is guided by what he believes to be the best interests of the people at large.

It has been unfortunate for Mayor Strong, but perhaps fortunate for the cause of non-partisan municipal government, that those officers who have proved least competent and have most subordinated the public welfare to personal or political ends have been those in whose appointment the endorsement of some political organization or faction figured most largely. His mistakes are well known; but, judged by the above test, the appointments of Mayor Strong are not open to general criticism. This is best proved by the record of his administration under the second promise.

Now, what has been accomplished by reason of the employment of business principles, in lieu of politics, in the work of the departments?

The Police Department was the centre of the storm of popular indignation that preceded Mayor Strong's election. It has been the object of scornful criticism since, by reason of bickerings in the Board. It shall be the first to answer the query as to the success of Mayor Strong's administration.

THE POLICE DEPARTMENT.

There is an inherent difficulty in reviewing the non-partisan administration of a department which is by law made bi-partisan. Non-partisanship, as applied to such a department, means that its internal administration must be based upon the merit system in appointments and promotions, and upon ordinary business principles in routine matters; to which must be added, of course, a strict system of supervision and discipline. The success of non-partisanship and the failure of partisanship were never more clearly contrasted than in the record of this department for the last two years. In so far as the Police Board has adhered strictly to the principles of non-partisanship, its administration has been an unqualified success: where it has departed from those principles it has been a failure. The deadlock in the Board has assumed, at times, the proportions of a public scandal. In no proper sense, however, can this be charged to Mayor Strong. The possibility of such a deadlock was one of the inherent defects of the bi-partisan law; and a mistake of judgment in the selection of the Board transformed this possibility into a living reality. With four men of such positive and different personalities as the Commissioners, the wonder is that the deadlock occurred in two matters only during two years. The intense hostility of the two commissioners who were the recognized

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leaders in this deadlock gave a prominence to the contest which the points involved did not warrant. These points were two: (1) The promotion of Acting-Inspectors McCullagh and Brooks. These officers had been serving faithfully in the grade of inspector for more than two years. They had stood at the head of two eligible lists, and were favored by three commissioners. Nothing, except the provision that the four commissioners must be unanimous, prevented their promotion. (2) The preferment by Commissioner Andrews of charges against the Chief of Police of a grave breach of discipline. Two of the commissioners refused to approve the charges and to permit any investigation.

The substantial results of the change in the character of the administration of the Department can be fully appreciated by a review of the improvement which has been accomplished in its internal affairs and its efficiency in the public service.

The new Board found the Department in a demoralized state. No material improvement in its condition had been made since the adjournment of the Lexow Committee. This investigation had been followed by an extraordinary session of the Grand Jury; and twenty-six officers, including one inspector and five captains, were under suspension on account of indictments for crime. Two hundred and sixty-eight vacancies existed in the Department; and by July 15 this number had increased to three hundred and fifty-five. It included one chief, three inspectors, eleven captains, and eleven sergeants. Important legislative changes were pending; and uncertainty and distrust pervaded the entire Department. Special powers of reorganization were denied by the Legislature; but the new Board, by its adoption of new methods of administration and enforcement of strict and impartial discipline, speedily caused the retirement of many officers.

One point upon which special stress must be laid is, that all improvement in the Department has been accomplished in spite of the absurd provisions of the particular law under which it is administered. The two worst features of the bi-partisan Act are: (1) That it divides responsibility; and (2) that it increases the difficulty of securing unity of action.

The first was the result of giving all power of detail of officers to the chief. The second was due to the limitations upon the power of a majority of the Commission. A four-headed commission is always in danger of a deadlock. There is, however, a chance that three of the members will act together. The framers of the bi-partisan bill provided against this chance with an ingenuity which could not

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have been surpassed. They stipulated that no promotion should be made except by the unanimous vote of the Board, unless on the written recommendation of the chief. The present chief announces that under no circumstances, save in the absence or death of a commissioner, will he make such a recommendation.

In another respect the law gives to the chief the power to control or block the promotion of new men. The original appointment of a patrolman is made by a majority of the Board. A patrolman's first advancement is to the duty of roundsman. But the promotion from patrolman to roundsman is called a "detail," and must be made by the chief. He designates the men from whose ranks all subsequent promotions must be made. From the roundsmen thus appointed the Board can make promotions to sergeancies, then to captaincies, and so on; but these promotions must be made by a unanimous vote until the office of chief is reached, when the majority once more regains its power. With the control of "details" and promotions in its own hands, the Board could have guaranteed that men should not be promoted or transferred for political reasons; but with this power taken away the Board could no longer be held responsible on that score.

The full disadvantages of the new law were not apparent at first, because the new Board had under it, in the higher positions, only acting officers; and it continued to exercise the powers the old Board had formerly possessed. During ten months of unchecked control, the Board accomplished an almost incredible amount of work for the reorganization of the Department.

Reorganization and Discipline.—From October 8, 1895, to December 31 of the same year, 206 patrolmen were appointed. In 1896, this number was increased by 958 permanent appointments and 398 appointments on probation; making a total of 1,356 for the year.

In 1894, the total promotions for the year were: Sergeants, 12; roundsmen, 16—total, 28; in 1895, chief, 1; detective-sergeants, 22; roundsmen, 40—total, 63; in 1896, deputy-chief, 1; inspector, 1; captains, 19; sergeants, 36; detective-sergeants, 6; roundsmen, 65—total, 128.

Dismissals were substituted for the light penalties which had been previously inflicted for grave breaches of discipline; and heavier penalties were imposed for all grades of offences.

In 1893, 11 officers were dismissed upon charges; in 1894, 41; in 1895, 88 (of whom 68 were dismissed by the new Board); in 1896, 81;

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making a total of 149 officers dismissed by the present Board prior to January 1, 1897.

The fines imposed in 1893 amounted to $15,664.65; in 1894, $14,871.90; in 1895, $23,139.90; in 1896, $29,768.28.

While enforcing discipline and inflicting severe penalties on the one hand, the Board, on the other hand, has publicly commended officers for gallant and meritorious service, and has largely increased the annual awards of honorable mentions, engrossed certificates, and medals of honor.

The Honest Enforcement of the Laws.—The most praiseworthy part played by the new Board was its stand for the rigid and honest enforcement of all laws. That the Excise law could not be enforced in New York had been commonly asserted. Its partial and uneven enforcement had afforded an efficient means of corrupting the officers and of blackmailing the liquor-dealers. The Board determined that the wealthy liquor-dealers, and those who possessed great political influence, should be treated precisely like the weaker ones. All places alike were closed on Sundays; yet, fewer arrests were made. In the year preceding the accession to office of the new Board, more than ten thousand persons were arrested for violation of the Sunday law: during the twelve months of the enforcement of the law, five thousand seven hundred only were arrested. This decrease is the best evidence of the extent to which arrests had been formerly made for purposes of blackmail or political intimidation.

The statistics show further that the number of arrests for more important crimes has been increased. At the same time there has been a marked diminution in the number of crimes committed where the criminal was not arrested. These results reflect all the more credit upon the force, because, for the first time in its history, it has warred upon all criminals, instead of protecting some for the purpose of catching others. When the present Board took office, all sorts of purveyors of vice were allowed to ply their trade unmolested; partly in consideration of paying blackmail to the police, and partly in consideration of giving information about criminals who belonged to the unprotected classes. This business of blackmail and protection has been entirely broken up. The force has done better work than ever before against those criminals who threatened life and property. In proportion to the population of the city, fewer crimes of violence, fewer murders and burglaries have been committed. Crime and vice are under better control in New York City

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than ever before; and life and property are safer. The arrests for all offences made by the detective bureau in the year ending May 1, 1895, numbered 1,384; in 1896, 2,527. The number of felons convicted in the year ending May 1, 1895, was 269; in 1896, 365. The convictions for misdemeanors in 1895 were 105; in 1896, 215.

Other important improvements have been accomplished by the Board. Among these may be mentioned the establishment of the police bicycle squad; the abolition of the "Tramp" lodging-house; the adoption of the Bertillon system of identification of criminals; the increase of the patrol-wagon force; the extension of the system of police matrons; the improvement of the condition of the old station-houses and the construction of new ones.

THE DEPARTMENT OF STREET CLEANING.

The former streets are a memory to all. A few thoroughfares and some streets in the brown-stone districts were carefully cleaned; but the others were shamefully neglected. Gutters and entrances of sewer culverts were choked with rotting garbage, pools of slimy water, and heaps of litter. In the tenement districts all these conditions were intensified. The marvellous change wrought in the past two years is conceded by the most rabid opponents of the present administration; but such concession is always accompanied with the exulting cry of "increased expenditure."

The ash-barrel nuisance has been abolished. The barrels have been ordered off the curb-line, and are kept inside the stoop-line, as ordered by the Sanitary Code. The sidewalks are free from unsightly and malodorous encumbrances. The collection of all kinds of material is made, in most cases, twice every day. There is no delay in removal; there is no accumulation; there are no mounds of refuse on the sidewalks and in the streets. As the streets became clean and free from trucks, the children took possession of them; and their elders soon followed. In the tenement-house districts, they are now one immense playground for the children, and a promenade for adults.

At present, 433 miles of paved streets are cleaned by the Department. Of these, 35½ are cleaned four or more times every day; 50½, three times; 283½, twice; 63½, once a day. The total, on the basis of *one sweeping every day*, is 924 miles,—nine miles farther than the distance from New York to Chicago!

The improvement in the physical condition of the laborers of the Department is striking. Formerly they were a lot of slipshod loafers,

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all occupying their positions for political reasons. Most of the drivers were recruited from a distinct class of young toughs and thugs, banded together in different parts of the city under names known to the police as the "Stable Gang," the "Barracks Gang," and the like. Dismissals were rarely made; and a man with any political pull at all found no difficulty in securing reinstatement. Soon, the entire force was thoroughly imbued with the conviction that the only thing required of it was street-cleaning, and that of the very hardest kind. Under the pace thus set many men dropped out; but many more remained. These have been transformed into decent and self-respecting laborers, who appreciate the standards by which they are judged, and ask only for a fair field and no favor. The adoption of the white uniform made street-cleaning an occupation, not an accident of position. The annual parade did much to complete what the uniform had begun. It was awaited with ridicule, but received with astonishment and admiration. The men realized the impression they created. They were proud of their positions, of their white clothes, and of themselves. From that moment the uniform assumed a new significance to their tenement-house friends and neighbors.

The system of arbitration introduced by Commissioner Waring has done much to improve the discipline and elevate the standard of the men.

The removal of the trucks from the streets has been a signal success. Around and beneath these obstructions the streets were usually in the most filthy condition. The truck-owners made no pretence to keep them clean. The space beneath the trucks was a most convenient dumping-ground for the surplus filth and rubbish of the neighborhood; and any paper blown about would invariably seek its final resting-place under the protection of the wheels. In the tenement streets the trucks were resorts for the dissolute youth of both sexes. They were converted into gambling-dens and haunts of tough gangs. Mothers were forced to keep their children indoors after nightfall; and even the adults preferred to remain in the stifling houses, rather than sit outside in an environment of refuse and at the risk of insult from the ribald occupants of the vehicles.

Complaints of individuals and societies alike were referred to the district superintendents, who, in many cases, were political leaders and able to distinguish a Republican from a Democratic truck. Trucks belonging to the party in power were rarely removed. Never had a commissioner entertained the desperate idea of suppressing the evil: it meant

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political annihilation. Despite predictions of failure, however, the reform was accomplished. By the advent of the summer of 1895, the streets were practically cleared. The crusade brought hardships to a few individuals; but such cases were rare. The principal offenders were the rich brewers, manufacturers, and merchants. The benefit to the city has been acknowledged by the truckmen who were sufferers at the time of the change. No future administration will dare to let the trucks return. Certainly the nuisance will never be known again if the women and children of the tenements are consulted.

The removal of sweepings and ashes in bags is a companion piece of progress. There is a total absence of the old eyesore of piles of street-dirt in the gutters awaiting collection by the carts. For the collection of ashes a patent, galvanized iron can has been devised, with an adjustable bottom composed of two doors opening outward through which the ashes are dropped into the bag without the clouds of dust that marked the old system of removal in open carts. In some districts, paper and light rubbish, such as rags, excelsior, straw, bottles, broken glass, tin cans, and old shoes, are now collected in bags or tied up in light bundles. The collection is made by a driver in response to a signal-card displayed in the lower windows of the house. The bags or bundles are not untied until the crematory is reached. By this method the most prolific cause of the littering of the streets has been removed.

In the matter of the removal of snow, the present Commissioner has completely distanced all his predecessors. Prior to January 1895, the work of removal was done mainly by the regular force; additional laborers and carts being hired when the fall was very heavy. The street area opened to traffic by this method was necessarily insignificant. In the early months of 1895, the new Commissioner was forced to make the best of the conditions as he found them. Removal was prosecuted day and night; and 253,481 loads of snow were removed in *five weeks*, at a cost of $173,639.20, as against 221,569 loads removed for $176,737.34, under the various commissioners occupying office during the *five years* beginning with 1889. In this short time more snow was removed at less expense than in the entire five years prior to the present administration; notwithstanding the fact that the laborers were paid $2.00 per day, while former commissioners paid them but $1.50.

In the following autumn the Commissioner introduced the system, now in force, of removal by contract. The work is done by the contractor in the manner and at the places indicated by the Commissioner. The contract for removal is let in cubic yards. Department inspectors

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at the loading- and dumping-places tally the loads and protect the city's interests. Snow is no longer taken from unimportant side-streets and dumped in other streets only a few blocks away. All cartmen must get their loads from the designated places, and dump them into the river before receiving the token of the city's indebtedness. The Department has thus been relieved of the care and labor incident to the hiring of carts and men, keeping their time, and making up pay-rolls. The Department laborers have been retained in their own sections upon cross-walks and gutters; and the interruptions to the regular work of the Department have been reduced to a minimum.

A comparison of the period prior to 1895, under all the commissioners as far back as the year 1881 (when the Department of Street Cleaning was taken from the control of the Police Department and became a separate branch of the city government), with that since the inauguration of the present administration on January 15, 1895, gives surprising results. The amount of snow removed in that portion of the winter of 1894–95 when the Department was under the direction of the present commissioner, and in the two complete winters, 1895–96, and 1896–97, was almost twice the entire amount removed in the thirteen and one-half winters prior to January 15, 1895. The average per winter for the present administration is 495,977 loads, against 55,568 loads for the winters preceding. The total cost of removal, for 596,625 loads, under all former commissioners was $453,105.79, or an average cost per load of $0.759. Under the present administration, for 1,233,412 loads, it has been $882,980.88,—an average cost per load of $0.716. This is more than four cents lower than the average for all the previous administrations. The low price of $0.636 for the winter just passed will undoubtedly be diminished in the winter of 1897–98.

A comparison of the mileage of streets cleaned shows that under former administrations 22.80 miles only were cleaned; while now 144.42 miles are cleaned after every snowstorm. The latter mileage includes all the city's important thoroughfares and the worst of its tenement streets. The congested tenement district east of the Bowery and south of Houston Street was never touched formerly: now it is practically cleared after every storm.

A most important feature of the snow work under Mayor Strong's administration has been the agreement entered into with the street railways for the removal of snow from curb to curb over certain portions of their lines, in lieu of the removal between the tracks over their entire lines. Formerly the snow was swept to one side, which made its

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removal more difficult, and traffic almost impossible. Now the railways clear *from curb to curb* over eleven miles of street in each storm, —a saving to the city, for the past winter alone, of $35,598.53.

The ordinances relating to the Department have been enforced. The equipment of the mechanical bureau and the repair shop has been improved. The shops, stables, crematories, dumps, steel pockets, boats, and barges have been renovated or reconstructed. Experiments have been conducted for the successful solution of the problem of the final disposition of garbage; and valuable progress has been made.

THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT.

The work of the Health Department has been extended, both by legislative enactment of new duties and by increased administrative activity. Strict measures to prevent the sale of watered, impure, or adulterated milk have been adopted by the Board. The sale of milk, cream, or condensed milk in the city of New York without a permit from the Board of Health, has been forbidden. Measures have been inaugurated for the systematic examination of all the milch cows within the city limits by the "tuberculin test." The sanitary supervision of tuberculosis by the Health Department has resulted in a marked decrease in the death-rate from that disease. The act regulating the employment of women and children in mercantile establishments imposed upon the Health Department new duties in reference to the inspection of such places of business, and the certification of the educational and physical qualifications of the children employed in them.

The most important new function of the Board has been the execution of the new tenement-house law. Mayor Strong approved the new law; and the machinery for its enforcement was set in motion promptly. Some of the worst evils of life in the tenements have thereby been abolished. The hazard of midnight fires has been met through the banishment of dangerous trades from tenement houses. The cruller bakeries were the worst of these. The owners have been forced to give up the crullers, or to make their bakeries fireproof. Paint and oil stores, feed stores, and all other depots of inflammable wares in tenement houses have been put under the control of the Fire Department and the Department of Buildings.

No tenement has been built in New York in the past two years that has not had one-fourth of the lot upon which it stands left open to the light and air. The dark bedroom is gone for good. Every room must have a window opening on the outer air. Dark hallways must be lighted.

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The worst of the old rookeries are gone. Sixteen rear tenements of the most vicious type were seized, and the tenants ordered out. Other buildings were condemned in quick succession; the death registry serving as guide for the sanitary officials. The landlords resorted to the courts, but were beaten. Ninety-four tenements have been seized, of which twenty-two have been destroyed, ten have been remodelled under the direction of the Department, and the rest stand vacant.

Within the present year the Board has established a system of medical inspection of school children. It has appointed a chief medical school inspector, with a staff of 150 inspectors; every school being visited each day. All ailing children are examined; and those found to be suffering from contagious or infectious disease are sent home.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

No more difficult problem confronted Mayor Strong than the reformation of the public schools. They were founded upon an antiquated system, and were entangled in an endless network of red tape and legal forms. A growing section of the city would outstrip its demands before the simplest improvements in school facilities could be procured. For nearly two years the work of the Department was handicapped by the struggle to get rid of the ward trustees. With the success of that movement, and the reorganization of the Board in sympathy with the new law, the real progress began.

At the opening of the present year, ten new school buildings were in course of construction, to furnish accommodation for 13,978 pupils. Contracts for three additional buildings had been awarded by the Board of Education, and were before the Board of Estimate and Apportionment for approval. These will furnish accommodation for 5,104 children. Plans had also been approved for ten other buildings. In all, the twenty-three schools will furnish accommodation for 31,378. During the year 1896, the city acquired ten sites for new buildings as well as seventeen sites for additions, and improvement in light, ventilation, and sanitation. Twenty-eight other sites were in process of acquisition by condemnation proceedings. The Board of Education had also approved thirteen sites which they had not yet submitted to the Corporation Counsel for action.

Within the past two years, the Legislature has authorized the issue of bonds by the city to the amount of $15,000,000 for the acquisition of school sites and erection of buildings. It has authorized a further issue of $2,500,000 for the establishment of high schools. The legal pro-

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cedure in condemnation of property for school purposes has been simplified and shortened. These plans and funds will enable the city to remove the reproach, that tens of thousands of its children are in the streets for lack of school facilities.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.

For the first time in its history, the revenue collected last year from water rents was more than enough to reimburse the city for the entire outlay of the Department of Public Works. The increase in the cash collections of 1896 over 1895 was $187,204.48, and over 1894, $347,786.56. The storage capacity of the Croton Water-shed has been increased from 17,579,000,000 gallons in 1894 to nearly 39,000,000,000 gallons in 1896. During the past year, twenty miles of water-mains have been constructed; and work is now in progress in Fifth Avenue on a water-main capable of carrying 50,000,000 gallons of water daily from the Central Park reservoir to the lower part of the city.

Asphalt pavements have been substituted for worn-out granite pavements as far as the appropriations permitted. More than twenty miles of asphalt pavement were laid during 1896. The "Collis Bicycle Strips" have brought comfort and safety to every wheelman. Old lamps have been replaced by new and ornamental ones, bearing on the glass the names of streets and the numbers of the corner houses. The Boulevard has been beautified with grass-plots and Welsbach lights.

For many years the charge for vault-space under the sidewalks, in front of buildings, was seventy-five cents per square foot. The present Commissioner has established the charge at $2.00 per square foot.

THE DOCK DEPARTMENT.

The Commissioners of the Dock Department have laid the foundations of an extension of the dock facilities of New York Harbor which will considerably increase the commerce of the port. Their plan for the improvement of the water-front between Charles Street and West Twenty-third Street creates 4.82 miles of new wharfage room, exclusive of 1,960 feet for ferry purposes. It is the only large scheme of water-front improvement which has not been more or less fragmentary; and it is the first one worthy of the city. Agreements to lease the proposed new piers between Charles and Gansevoort streets will give rentals yielding an annual revenue of over 5 per cent interest on the total expenditures. This improvement will not be a burden to the taxpayer:

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on the contrary, it will produce a net revenue in addition to its great commercial advantages.

Want of space prevents a detailed reference to the work of the other departments, of all of which it may be said that they have acquitted themselves with credit, as well as with honor to the city government.

FINANCES.

The one charge of failure that may be pressed plausibly against the administration of Mayor Strong is the increase in the expenditures of the city government. For several years prior to his administration, there had been a steady annual increase in the public debt. This increase was mainly for expenditures on improvements of a permanent character, such as the purchase of lands for public parks and docks, the erection of school buildings, police- and fire-stations, armories, museums, hospitals, asylums, bridges over the Harlem River, the repairing of streets and avenues, increasing the water-supply, and similar changes rendered necessary by the growth of the city. This regular annual increase in the public debt has been accelerated during Mayor Strong's administration for the simple reason that the construction of all such permanent improvements has been accelerated. Those already planned have been finished or pressed forward toward completion. New works have been projected, and in many cases executed, with a promptness formerly unknown in New York.

The financial success of a municipal administration must be measured by the same standards that would be applied to any large business enterprise, or to the execution of a great charitable bequest. It should not be determined by the actual expenditures themselves, but by an intelligent comparison of *the results achieved by the expenditures*, whether greater or less than in a former year. Judging by such a comparison, the people of the city of New York may be well satisfied with Mayor Strong as trustee of the city's funds. They have paid more because they have received more—both in quantity and quality—than in former years.

The experiment of non-partisan municipal government has been a success. The lesson is plain: Try it again.

FRANK D. PAVEY.

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THE McKINLEY ADMINISTRATION AND PROSPERITY.

THE present heavy depression of industry is certainly a far cry from the cheerful bustle of prosperity which the general public expected as a consequence of Mr. McKinley's election. Indeed so universal was the belief in recovery, in case of Republican success, that last November was regarded as the turning-point of all industrial suffering. The feeling of confidence immediately after the election caused a great rise in the prices of securities,—only to be followed, within a month or two, by a steady and disheartening decline. Since then industry has moved with leaden feet. Why should it not go swiftly on? Why have all expectations been so cruelly disappointed?

The conditions of to-day, however, cannot be disassociated from those of yesterday. The modern business organism does not work normally immediately after a great shock,—any more than the human system after a violent railway collision. And during the panic in the summer of 1896 our business had such a shock as left it in a shattered condition. No one can forget the desperate tension of trade and credit during that period; indeed it is not yet gone. Nevertheless, it may not be sufficiently realized that a painful, perhaps a prolonged, process of invalidism must be endured before conditions can again become normal.

Before the election some evidently felt: "Stop the cause of the panic, and business will instantly right itself." The fear of a disastrous fall from the existing gold standard to one of silver (one-half as valuable) had—in proportion to the belief in the success of the Silver candidates—made prices and contracts uncertain, confused all estimates as to the future, stopped buying, and paralyzed industry. "Remove this fear," it was felt, "and all will be well again. Elect Mr. McKinley and the Sound-money candidates in November, and industry will resume its activity." But herein was a fatal omission,—the failure to understand fully what had already taken place. If a burglar shoots me, and several times sends bullets crashing through my body, am I just as active and healthy as formerly, the moment he stops shooting—the moment he stops the cause of my wounds? Evi-

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dently not: the damage has already been done; and while the cessation of shooting may save me from additional injury, it will not cure the wounds inflicted. Removing the burglar does not cure my hurt: painful surgical operations, time, and slow physical recuperation are necessary to complete recovery. Similarly, the passing of Mr. Bryan and the removal of the fear of the silver standard—perhaps after all only temporarily—could not of themselves cure the country of the injuries and losses inflicted during the panic of 1896; to say nothing of the results traceable to 1893.

To regard the election of an Executive for the nation as decisive for the adoption of a good or bad currency, would be natural only on the assumption that the mass of the people do not think. It is almost pathetic to see a great, lusty country like ours still hugging the political delusion that a campaign for an Executive Officer settles the policy of the Legislative branch of our government. No matter what the views of a President, he cannot carry them out until they have become enacted into the law of the land. A President can do scarcely anything in the enactment of the legislative platform of his party, —except in so far as he can influence legislation by the distribution of executive patronage,—unless Congress first enacts laws, which he is then sworn to execute, whether they suit his own views or not. So far as bad industrial conditions depend upon remedial legislation, very little responsibility rests upon the President, but very much upon his party: little rests upon the Executive, but very much upon Members of the House and Senate. And yet, in the Presidential campaigns, the managers of the show, by great attractions, adroitly draw off our attention to the choice of an Executive,—of course because the managers have the Executive spoils to distribute,—while Members of Congress and State legislators who choose Senators, the real arbiters of industrial remedies, slip into office almost unnoticed. It is a most extraordinary case of perverted emphasis. The mass of voters are in dire need of corrective legislation on the currency; and yet they are hoodwinked by manipulating politicians who wish Executive appointments, and who succeed in making their matter the main issue. It is time for us to concentrate our chief attention upon the men who make our laws, rather than upon the men who execute them.

This simple fact must explain why the election of Mr. McKinley, in and by itself, has produced so little effect in the restoration of prosperity. In itself his election, as a remedial action, was nothing. The great vote given to the platform on which he stood was, of course, a

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declaration of tremendous force in favor of maintaining the existing gold standard as against a depreciated silver standard; but no change in existing conditions can result until these views are cast into the definite law of the land. Moreover, only so far as this voting took effect in the choice of our national legislators did it in any effectual way improve the chances for prosperity. And as regards this matter, it should be noted that the shrewd, penetrating men of affairs, whose pecuniary interests are at stake in industry, know all this well enough.

This is why the situation in the winter after the election was one of cautious expectancy. The winter session of Congress did nothing whatever to change the conditions under which industry had been dragging along since 1893, and under which it had suffered a great cataclysm in 1896. Nothing was settled: everything was a matter of guesswork. Existing conditions contained the same possibilities for the future as those that had developed into ruinous events in the past: the unstable conditions of the currency, the legal regulations of bonds and gold reserves, were such that an agitation for the silver standard on a formidable scale in 1896 was capable of producing widespread and phenomenal ruin to industry. This result was branded into our consciousness by enormous losses and by months of desperate anxiety and strain. If this could take place in 1896, then—conditions remaining unchanged—why could not similar disaster come in 1898, or in 1900?

The panic of last year, by its failures and liquidations, produced a breakdown in the reciprocal relations of producers and buyers. When a high building has been blown down, we know it cannot instantly be rebuilt in its original form: on the contrary, each brick and sill must be slowly and laboriously relaid. So, in the case of industry after a panic, the seller (if he survive) must slowly rediscover the buyer who has means to buy with and a desire to buy. For this reciprocal readjustment both time and skill are demanded. Not until some branch of production (perhaps agriculture) gains new purchasing power, does the growing demand, increasing concurrently with production, spread in ever-widening circles to many occupations,—until, finally, all available capital and labor find employment in new adjustments. Nothing, of course, should be allowed to intercept this return to health and prosperity. Potential disaster would lessen the confidence of commercial enterprise, even if industry were in a normal and healthy state: much more would it create disturbance, if industry were already reduced by as much suffering as it could safely bear. It is as if the patient, not yet

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recovered from the burglar's shots, should find his old enemy still lurking about the curtains of his bed, looking for a chance to inflict a new wound. We see, then, a debilitated and sensitive business organism again threatened by the possibilities of currency dangers before it has recovered from the injuries of the past. The magnitude of Mr. Bryan's vote is a shadow even now lying over the world of trade.

We are now in a position to review the events since Mr. McKinley's election which have delayed the expected prosperity. Apart from the fact that failures and liquidations reaching back as far as 1893 have made the situation difficult, we are met by the one great cause of industrial inaction; viz., uncertainty as to the future. Never, for any length of time, since the passage of the Bland-Allison Bill in 1878, has industry been given quiet and certainty as to the standard upon which all operations are based: this fatal instability brought on the ruinous panic of 1893, and added to it that of 1896. The fear as to what the standard might be has existed, and is still present, in every investor's, in every employer's mind. Keeping this in view, have the events subsequent to Mr. McKinley's election tended to diminish or to increase the uncertainty as to the standard on which business is necessarily transacted?

The maintenance of the existing gold standard—which was the central issue of the last campaign—cannot be permanently secured so long as our monetary legislation remains as it is. Under the great embarrassments due to our existing laws, it was with great difficulty that even so courageous an Executive as Mr. Cleveland kept intact the gold reserve. Our present abundant supply of gold is due merely to the happy incidents of our international trade. During the recent years of depression, our people have been working hard, and spending little; consequently our exports have increased and our imports have diminished. In 1896, our excess of exports once reached the hitherto unparalleled sum of $325,000,000. This placed foreigners in debt to us; so that we not only did not need to export our own products of gold, but, in addition, it was sent to us in millions. (We have gold enough and to spare, but no industry sufficient to absorb it.) For this reason, both the banks and the Treasury have easily increased their gold holdings; the latter to the amount of $155,000,000. But there is no permanency in this. Recent events show this very clearly. The likelihood of the passage of higher tariff duties by Congress has caused heavy imports of goods in the last few months. And these very imports have offset credits due us against our former heavy exports;

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thereby making gold exports possible, and already weakening our gold reserve in the Treasury by perhaps $10,000,000. A serious reversal of our international trade would at once put our gold reserve, and consequently our standard of payments, in jeopardy.

For these and other reasons, our men of affairs cannot feel certain as to the future of our standard. Our foreign trade is big with possibilities of disturbance. And some internal conditions, moreover, are not so promising as to give much confidence. So long as our laws are what they now are, it is to be remembered that the Silver agitation can accomplish its ends by creating in the mind of the public a distrust in the power of the Administration to maintain gold payments; for the disappearance of the gold reserve would bring us to silver payments quite as effectually as positive legislation in favor of free coinage of silver. If any reaction against the Republican party should take place at an early date, which would give the Silver party a majority in the House,—and that is not an impossible contingency,— it would create a situation full of peril to the existing standard. Such possibilities as these show what uncertainties surround our long-suffering industries in their unequal struggle for existence. The coming of a new President has not removed these uncertainties.

Although the President cannot be held responsible for legislative enactments,—since it is Congress that must be held accountable for legislation—yet the President, together with his party, has many ways of aiding a good or a bad policy. As we well know, producers all over our land hoped that the election of last November would finally dispose of the Silver agitation which had shaken confidence in our standard, and thus put an end to the insistent questioning of the very basis of commerce and production. Certainly it was the duty of an intelligent Executive to do all in his power to bring this agitation to a close. Instead of that we have some evidences of the superior strategy of the Silver managers. Even before Mr. McKinley's inauguration, a Silver Senator was sent abroad as an unofficial agent "to see what could be done for silver,"—as if it were not about time that long-suffering industry should have something done to protect it against the Silver combination that would destroy the existing standard, bring on panics (as in 1893 and 1896), cause losses of untold millions; in fact, do anything, no matter what the cost to the country at large, provided its members could utilize this Government as a tool to support their special, selfish interests.

Then, when Mr. McKinley, after assuming office, sent three com-

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missioners to Europe in the interests of silver, and selected at least two members who represented to the public the policy of free coinage of silver,—the very policy against which the whole campaign of 1896 was waged,—it was a shock to confidence not easily borne in silence. In effect, this mission, so far as it was serious, and not mere politics, served only to keep up the old dangerous agitation regarding our standard. And it did worse than this. Once more, Silver partisans were given the use of government money to spread abroad in Europe—where we are constantly seeking capital to exploit the newer portions of our land—views which came from the defeated element in the recent elections. No wonder Europe is sensitive as to American financial methods. Moreover, this partisan body will be given the use of the government printing office to distribute their views broadcast over the country, and to keep adroitly the Silver issue before the public. Could anything be worse for business? Instead of strengthening the results of the November election, so far as it lay in the power of the Executive, this action, dignified with a nation's authority, has more or lest counteracted its moral advantages.[1] And in so far it has not worked to remove the shadow of uncertainty hanging over our industries.

There is undoubtedly more in this coquetting with the Silver combination than appears on the surface. Indeed the secret history of the Silver agitation, its bargains, its strategy, would by itself form an interesting story. It is common property to many persons in Washington and elsewhere. In fact, a Silver Senator some years ago cynically admitted the existence of a compact between legislators representing certain manufacturing interests and the Silver agents, by which reciprocal aid was given by votes. There is certainly nothing *a priori* exceptional in this. And even more definite evidence can be cited. The Sherman Act of July 14, 1890, which nearly brought us to the silver standard, and did bring us to the panic of 1893, was the consideration granted by the Republican party to the Silver men in return for the passage of the Tariff Act of that year.[2]

[1] It is not to the point to say that international bimetallism was a part of the St. Louis platform. The essential point in it was the maintenance of the "existing gold standard"; and a plank which included the admission that the existing standard was injurious, and that silver must be taken up for the reason that existing conditions were working damage, completely antagonized the principal issue, on which the election was afterwards unmistakably won. The struggle by which "gold" was inserted into the platform would be meaningless on any other interpretation.

[2] *Vide* the speech of Senator Teller in the Senate, April 29, 1896: "He [Sher-

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This bargaining, which has other ramifications, split upon the rock of commercial events,—an obstacle beyond the control even of shifty politicians. The burden of the Sherman Act being more than a weakened currency system could bear, it gave way: one might barter away a sound currency for a mess of pottage, but the inevitable results to trade and commerce could not be stayed. The business interests, indignant at the Silver legislation which had brought on the panic of 1893, rose in anger and assisted President Cleveland to induce Congress to repeal the purchase clause of the Sherman Act. This, however, took away from one of the two parties to the compact the reward for its votes. And this explains the manœuvring between the Western Silver Senators and the Republican party up to the very close of the St. Louis Convention of 1896. Would the Republican leaders renew the old compact? The situation had its evident difficulties. After the havoc wrought by Silver legislation in 1893, the Republicans could not defy public opinion and satisfy the demands of the Silver party. If they would not, then how could they expect to have the Silver votes for their Tariff legislation?

These elements went to make up a most interesting condition of affairs at St. Louis. Just at this time came the loud voice of public opinion—quite unexpected by the politicians—which, with unmistakable force, demanded and obtained the declaration for the maintenance of "the existing gold standard," even at the sacrifice of the Silver Republicans. It was this courageous party action which won success for its ticket. But, after the dramatic public performance at St. Louis, one is led to consider how strictly this represents the present relation between the Republican leaders and the Silver Senators. The Tariff Bill cannot be passed without an understanding with the Silver group. If so, what is the *quid pro quo?* The present open bargaining in the Senate is depressing and discouraging enough. The friends of industrial prosperity may well keep a sharp lookout to see "what is being done for silver" at this juncture. It may be a part of the superior strategy of the Silver group to allow the tariff legislators to go to extremes; confident in the alienation thereby of many Sound-money advocates and the consequent division of the forces they must meet in coming campaigns.

But what furtherance of monetary reform for the relief of business is to come out of such a situation? The prospect is certainly not very

man] believed, first, that it would secure the passage of a tariff bill," and other passages.

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bright. Hence, no cautious man will invest a million, or even a hundred, dollars, in any permanent operation of industry so long as doubt exists as to whether he will get back money of the same kind that he puts in. Therefore, business waits.

To some minds, however, the present depression seems more or less related to the passage of higher protective duties; and there is no little truth in this. Not only the currency, but the tariff, has a present influence on industry in so far as it works for certainty or distrust. While it is apparent that higher taxation *per se* cannot secure prosperity, a certain large measure of prosperity is possible even with heavy taxation, provided that it is accompanied by some certainty as to the future.

A tariff bill was expected from the McKinley administration by most well-informed men, if only to provide a larger income to meet existing deficits; but it was generally assumed that it would be a moderate measure. Indeed, in the days immediately following the election, in a flush of grateful appreciation for the help of Sound-money Democrats, Republican newspapers freely suggested a tariff with such reasonable duties that these new allies might have no reason for ever leaving the Republican fold. And, during the campaign, the statement in the St. Louis platform to the effect that the party was not pledged to any particular "schedules" was explained to mean that no such extreme duties as those in the McKinley bill (which might be suggested by the nomination of Mr. McKinley himself) were intended. The necessity of the special session of Congress was based on the imperative need of additional revenues to overcome the deficit, and not ostensibly on the need for greater protection. Moreover, it was urged, that if the gold reserve were to be kept intact, or a surplus provided with which to retire greenbacks, more income was demanded. It need not be said that these aims do not seem to have guided the framers of tariff legislation up to the present time. A moderate bill, so adjusted as to provide sufficient revenues, followed by a speedy adjournment of Congress would, no doubt, have given the country—even though suspicious of the monetary situation—great encouragement to undertake important enterprises.

Instead of this what was the country given? A tariff of exaggerations, a tariff of scandals, a tariff of barbarisms, a tariff which antagonized both Republicans and Democrats, and whose extreme provisions have been so thoroughly advertised throughout the length and breadth of the land that counter-agitation for a reform of customs duties is seen

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to be quite inevitably a part of the future, even before the bill is enacted. Instead of an Act likely to be acquiesced in, and under which the industries affected could count upon some reasonable certainty for a few years ahead, the exasperation at the methods of our national legislators is so intense, so contemptuous, that permanency of tariff legislation is "an iridescent dream." It is believed that this legislation is being framed neither in accordance with protective principles *per se*, nor for purposes of revenue, but by a process of bargaining for selfish gain which will not bear the light. The system by which the special interests are themselves not merely permitted, but invited, to fix the customs duties levied on their products may be compared to disputants sitting in court and passing judgment upon their own cases. Such a system contains in itself the elements of its own destruction.

That the tariff situation has not conduced to establish confidence in investors and producers as to the future, is too apparent everywhere to need mention here. It has already created material for an explosive reaction, and thereby removed certainty far into the future. As if the uncertainty of frequent changes in the tariff were not enough, we see the committees of the Senate in the power of the Silver Senators. It may not be a pleasant thing to say, but never before—at least in this generation—has there been such widespread loss of confidence in the honor and integrity of our public servants in Congress. One almost hesitates to put into words the frequent admissions of thoughtful men that national legislation is to-day bargained for, if not actually bought and sold. So far has suspicion gone, that it is even bruited about, as matter of common report, that while the President himself may not have made election promises, yet his agents have engaged for him, in the form of a tariff bill, to allow numerous interests to recoup themselves from the country for advances made to secure the nomination and election of their candidate. The audacity, the unblushing "grab," displayed in Washington gives color to such reports; else why should such legislation be given its strange preëminence over monetary reform? And why should the President have allowed himself to open the special session of Congress with a Message in which there was not one word in regard to monetary legislation—the main question of the campaign? Why is it seemingly admitted in Washington that it is Utopian to talk of a bill retiring greenbacks?

It is evident that the wrong conditions are deeper than mere party platforms. It is not a matter to be remedied by turning from one party to another. In 1894, the country scornfully rejected the Demo-

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crats, largely because the favors granted to special interests in the Senate, in the modification of the Wilson Bill, disgusted the voters. It was believed that the Democrats had not virtue enough to withstand the temptations which such bills create. And yet there is now a strong belief that, in similar circumstances, a Republican is no more to be trusted than a Democratic Senator. When one sees how much basis there is for this distrust, one does not feel surprised at much of the blind hatred of political corruption expressed by some honest supporters of Mr. Bryan. If we faced the matter squarely, we should find much to justify the existence of Bryanism.

In this state of the public mind, even if the Tariff Bill be enacted, we shall not, by any means, see the fetters removed from our hampered industries. Tariff agitation will leave protected industries no lengthened period of certainty; and the popular disgust may show itself in a political reaction at the polls which will still further excite doubt as to the future of our standard. And, if we bear in mind, in addition to these grave obstacles to prosperity, the surprising and sweeping decision of the Supreme Court in the Trans-Missouri Traffic Association, by which ordinary agreements in trade are made illegal, and the vast capital engaged in railway transportation made timid and uncertain as to the future, we may well wonder that we are no worse off. Is there any difficulty in understanding why an industrial system, already weakened by two panics, looks to the future with timidity; why production is limited, and labor out of employment; why purchases are small?

J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN.

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WHY SPAIN HAS FAILED IN CUBA.

On October 28, 1492, Columbus, touching upon the shores of Cuba, wrote in his log-book, "Of all lands this is the most beautiful ever beheld by human eyes." The government of Spain has been keeping that diary ever since. The second entry related the slaughter of the peaceful Indians by the "white men descended from Heaven." Succeeding pages for four centuries tell a continuous tale of injustice, oppression, bloodshed, official corruption, and strange and ferocious hatred of offspring by the mother country. Those who now guide the pen of Spanish record are writing the last familiar chapter. Cuban chroniclers will soon begin where Columbus left off, by adding to his log-book entry, "And the land shall be as free as it is beautiful, and independent forever."

To make this entry and enjoy the manifold blessings of liberty, a handful of ragged and poorly armed revolutionists, scattered over the country, are successfully opposing a well-equipped army more than twice as large as the United States army in the Mexican war, and exceeding by 119,000 men the government forces engaged in all our Indian wars since the Declaration of Independence. Why this great force has been unable in two years and five months to exterminate the last band of patriots, is a puzzle to military men and a mystery to the world. The solution is not afforded by the defensible character of the country, and the advantage possessed by the insurgents through their familiarity with its swamps, mountain passes, and natural strongholds. This knowledge, as well as their dash, bravery, and heroic endurance of hardships, has undoubtedly been of great service to the rebels; but it has not made them invincible. All these elements in favor of the insurgents are more than neutralized by their ignorance of the art of war, in which the thousands upon thousands of regular troops, led by the foremost generals of Spain, are supposed to be highly skilled.

It was not a difficult military problem that was presented to this invading host. Spain was in possession of every important city, of all the lines of communication and supply, and had in well-distributed garrisons, at the outbreak of the insurrection on February 24, 1895, an

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army of 20,320 men. There were also nearly 60,000 volunteers or militia, ready to be called out to quell civil disturbances. There were only a few hundred Cubans in revolt by the end of March, when reinforcements from Spain were demanded, and an additional force of 7,000 troops was landed. Captain-General Isasi was recalled, and General Campos, with more troops, took command on April 10. The revolution, born in the mountainous province of Santiago de Cuba, was spreading slowly westward. Dissatisfaction at Madrid caused Campos's recall on January 17, 1896; and, on February 10, General Valerino Weyler y Nicolau, Marquis of Tenerife, took command. Captain-General Weyler was "clothed with legal omnipotence." He took the field in person. He asked for—and Spain, on the verge of bankruptcy, in her patriotism and her confidence in her chosen commander, supplied—more than 200,000 men to put down what was still, so far as the number of insurrectionists in arms was concerned, a small local uprising.

The spectacle of Spain pouring out her gold and her children's blood to preserve her national territory, was sublime: the use to which this great sacrifice has been put is a crime against a confiding people whose faith has been dishonored. General Weyler should have subdued the rebellion within ninety days. No unprejudiced military authority who has studied the two forces, and made due allowance for the advantages possessed by those who fight upon their native soil, will dissent from this proposition. There are Spanish generals in Cuba who admit its truth. There are others who have returned, disgusted, to Spain because their suggestions of plans to end the war were not allowed to be disclosed at the Palace.

A four months' stay in Cuba, beginning in January and ending with April of this year, much of which time was passed in observing the forces in the field, has resulted in the conviction, on my part, that it has not been the purpose of General Weyler to end the rebellion. Conversations with Spanish officers, from generals to corporals, showed that the same motives that were evidently actuating the commander in allowing the war to drag along were prompting a large proportion of the staff and line in carrying out the policy of their superior. The recital of a few experiences, the description of actual conditions, an explanation of methods employed, and an account of the poor result achieved where success was possible, will prove this indictment. If it be admitted that General Weyler has the slightest military ability, the situation in Cuba to-day will convict him.

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The two eastern provinces, Santiago de Cuba and Puerto Principe, are already "Cuba Libre." There the new government is discharging all its functions almost without annoyance. In the other four provinces, the rebels are practically the rulers outside the large cities. For more than two years, with a maximum strength of scarcely 30,000 indifferently armed guerilla soldiers, the insurgents have, on a narrow island, successfully waged war against 235,000 well-armed troops, assisted by militia, supported by a navy, and maintained by constant supplies.

It is no reflection upon the valor of the insurgents to say that it has been made comparatively easy for them to keep up the strife. General Weyler began his campaign by building small forts all over the island. This was a novel plan for the commander of an invading army to adopt. It put the Spanish forces at the start in the position of seeming to seek their own safety, awaiting attack, instead of pursuing and conquering the enemy. The number of these forts, erected and in process of building, is astonishing. They are placed within short distances of one another along every railroad; they are found in great numbers even in the meanest villages; and they stretch like links of a chain from one side of the island to the other, where the two famous but useless and expensive trochas have been constructed.

These forts are garrisoned with an average of eight men. As the defenders never leave them, it is estimated that at least 150,000 of Weyler's force of 235,000 are thus prevented from taking active part in the campaign. The balance of the army not doing clerical or staff duty is divided into columns, which march to little purpose from one of the fortified towns to another. They never camp at night in the open field, for they have no tents and no commissariat. They are obliged at nightfall—even when hotly pursuing the enemy—to seek some village, where they bivouac within or around the walls of the fortifications, or go to a "sugar central"—also protected by forts—to rest themselves under the eaves of the larger buildings. More often these columns return at night to the point from which they started in the morning. It is necessary for them to change their base of supply, if they wish to make progress through the country; and they do not do this until they have scoured the vicinity in all directions, in their daily marches.

On these marches the huts of the *pacificos* are burned; and the peaceful folk who are not killed are forced to go to the nearest fortified town and there remain. Crops are destroyed; and nothing is left that can possibly give aid or succor to the insurgents. Occasionally a band of rebels will be met and attacked. Both sides fight with bravery; but

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neither shows good judgment nor tactical skill. The Cubans charge on horseback with little attempt at formation or method. The Spanish infantry throws itself into a hollow square to meet the onslaught. This is the only formation that the regulars in the field seem to understand. If the Cubans break the square, they cut through it; but, strange to say, seldom return to engage the column. If the Spanish soldiers repulse the rebels, they fire a few volleys and allow them to ride off unpursued. Neither side follows up an advantage in such encounters, but seems content with the result of engagements that are soon over. A well-planned, long-sustained battle is unknown in Cuba. The Cubans, if taken by surprise, scatter immediately. The Spaniards have been ambushed so often that they are very loath to follow. Unless in greatly superior numbers, they avoid trying issues with detachments of rebels they may chance to meet. In the uplands and mountains the Cuban bands are fairly secure from assault. They dash into the open country, pounce upon a column, kill a few soldiers, and get away with small loss. The Spaniards fear to pursue, lest they be led into a narrow pass and shot to pieces,—a fate which many a valorous column has met.

The inefficiency of the Spanish officers is demonstrated by their failure to make these tactics of the Cubans dangerous and costly. The plowboy soldier from Spain is a brave fellow. He is undrilled, poorly fed, badly clothed, and neglected; but he is ever ready to go after the rebels and engage them in their strongholds. General Weyler's method of campaigning, and the lack of military experience or knowledge on the part of the subordinate officers, hold the troops back and allow the rebel chiefs, with less men and even less skill, to continue successfully their peculiar method of warfare. In the field, the Spanish invader acts more frequently on the defensive than on the aggressive.

For over a year General Maximo Gomez, the commander-in-chief of the Army of Liberation, has moved with impunity from point to point, in a small stretch of country in the vicinity of Sancti Spiritus, in the mountainous northeast corner of Santa Clara Province. This extraordinary man has well been termed "The Old Fox." While he does not possess the military talent of General Calixto Garcia, who has practically wrested the provinces of Santiago de Cuba and Puerto Principe from Spanish rule, it is doubtful if, as a master of guerilla tactics, General Gomez has an equal. His march from one end of the island to the other, on the breaking out of the revolution,—when the people in the greater part of the country through which he passed had not yet risen in rebellion, and strong Spanish forces were active in

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every province,—evidenced his ability as a bush fighter and raider. He has made his fame secure, by directing, from headquarters, the movements of his widely separated forces, which, in spite of the operations of 20,000 troops kept in the vicinity, have never been forced from a section of country scarcely one hundred miles square—and that section in the very centre of the island.

General Gomez never has more than 300 or 400 men with him. His favorite camp is near Arroyo Blanco, on a high plateau, difficult to approach and covered with dense thicket. He posts his outer pickets at least three miles away, in the directions from which the enemy may come. The Spaniards, whenever possible, march by road; and, with these highways well guarded, Gomez sleeps secure. He knows that his pickets will be informed by some Cuban long before the Spanish column leaves or passes the nearest village to attack him. A shot from the farthest sentry causes little or no excitement in Gomez's camp. The report throws the Spanish column into fears of attack or ambush; and it moves forward very slowly and carefully. Two pickets at such a time have been known to hold 2,000 men at bay for a whole day. If the column presses on, and General Gomez hears a shot from a sentinel near by, he will rise leisurely from his hammock and give orders to prepare to move camp. He has had so many experiences of this kind that not until he hears the volley-shooting of the oncoming Spaniards will he call for his horse, give the word to march, and disappear, followed by his entire force, into the tropical underbrush, which closes like a curtain behind them, leaving the Spaniards to discover a deserted camp, without the slightest trace of the path taken by its recent occupants.

Sometimes Gomez will move only a mile or two. The Spaniards do not usually give chase. If they do, Gomez takes a keen delight in leading them in a circle. If he can throw them off by nightfall, he goes to sleep in his camp of the morning happier than if he had won a battle. The Spaniards learn nothing through such experiences. Gomez varies the game occasionally by marching directly toward the rear of the foe, and there, reinforced by other insurgent bands of the neighborhood, falling upon the column and punishing it severely. While his immediate force is only a handful, the General can call to his aid, in a short time, nearly 6,000 men. The Cubans are divided into small bands, under experienced chiefs, and are hidden away in camps similar to the one described. When they are attacked, they escape by the same tactics. They are not often disturbed: for the country is hostile

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to the Spaniards; and they can rarely find a Cuban who will disclose the whereabouts of the native forces.

There is little or no pretence of drilling the Cuban soldiers. If they learn by trumpet signal when to break camp, to attack, to retreat, and to scatter, they think they know enough for all practical purposes of war. They are courageous, but nervous, under fire, and rarely wait for orders to attack. The knowledge that they are going into skirmish, and the sight of the enemy make them so excited that they would not hear the commands of their similarly agitated officers if any were given. Americans who have joined the insurgent ranks with the belief that they could teach the Cubans how to fight by military rule, and drill their raw forces into sturdy disciplined troops, have been wofully disappointed. Such attempts soon cease. The Cuban soldier refuses to learn the most ordinary tactics. He believes he is a better fighter than any foreigner; that he alone understands how to struggle with the Spaniard; and that, as a horseman, it is impossible for anyone to improve him. He dislikes marching on foot; and there is no infantry in the Cuban army worthy of the name. The Cubans feel more courageous on horseback, and prefer to do all their fighting in the saddle. They will frequently attack the Spanish forts astride their wonderful little ponies, and ride up to the very loopholes in the face of volley upon volley.

If the horse escapes slaughter, its chances of being ridden to death are increased. Its master has no mercy upon it, no knowledge of how to care for the faithful animal, and no inclination to save its strength by dismounting and easing saddle-girths and packstraps when leisurely making ascents. Not even in this particular will the Cuban take advice. He also resents reflections upon his marksmanship, which is far from good. The Spaniard is no better shot. Neither side does any target practising,—the Cuban, because he cannot afford to waste his ammunition; and the Spaniard, because his officer does not take the trouble to instruct him. The Spaniards rarely raise their rifles to their shoulders. Whole battalions deliver successive volleys with every man holding the butt under his arm. This enables him to steady the weapon more easily while he works the magazine; but the bullets invariably seek the sky. After one "battle" in which there was rapid firing for twenty minutes by evenly matched forces, it was found that no one was killed or injured. A chemist of a neighboring sugar estate, who weighed one of the bullets and did a little figuring, declared that more than half a ton of lead had been shot into the mountain peaks.

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The deadly weapon of the war is the Cuban machete. It is the tool and arm of the native from boyhood. In peace it is a scythe and grub-hook, and serves every purpose for which a knife can be used. It then varies in form and size. In war it is a long, narrow, razor-like blade, blunt at the point, but sharpened on both edges and hilted like a sword. It becomes a cleaver—an extended double-edged battleaxe—which in accustomed hands severs the head from the body with one stroke, or, striking on the shoulder, splits the trunk in twain. The Spaniards have a wholesome dread of the fearful weapon. It has won more fights for the Cubans than all the rifles landed by filibustering expeditions. General Gomez gives the order "Al machete!" whenever possible. It is a brave column that will stand its ground to receive the charge of hundreds of yelling Cubans, rushing toward it on frantic ponies, flashing their deadly blades in air.

Considerable dynamite has found its way into the insurgent lines; but its use is little understood. Now and then trains have been blown up; but, on the whole, the damage done with this explosive has been small. The Cuban operators never think of exploding bombs in round-houses, and destroying the motive power of a road at one stroke. They blow up hand-cars, now and then an engine, and occasionally a culvert, all which are quickly repaired: they leave long bridges, the destruction of which would cripple the railroad. There would be no more danger attending attempts to blow up the bridges than is incurred in demolishing other kinds of railroad property. All are equally well guarded. The size of the bridges seems to fill the Cubans with an overpowering sense of the magnitude of the operation; and they will turn their backs upon it, to risk their lives in doing something which, even if successful, is of no value.

The troops of Spain are but little better drilled than those of Cuba. The privates are splendid raw material for soldiers. They are small, wiry men, or rather boys,—for nearly all are beardless,—and they have excellent teeth, fine limbs, and the most buoyant nature under trying circumstances. With all their hardships in a land which they are attempting unwillingly to keep enslaved, the conscripts are good-natured and often light-hearted, and inclined to joke and sing in hours of ease. They are wonderful marchers. It is common for a column of these youngsters, after a cup of coffee and a bite of bread at daylight, to put twenty-five hot miles behind them before their breakfast at eleven o'clock. It is not extraordinary for the same column to repeat the operation by returning on the same day. They never complain, and al-

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ways respond quickly and willingly to every demand made upon their endurance by their officers. They do it for Spain and Spain alone.

The wasted patriotism of these ignorant, stout-hearted, abused soldier lads is pitiable. Their officers seem to have nothing in common with them. They take no care of them, and come in contact with them as little as possible. Acts of cruelty are frequent. The soldiers have no respect for the ability of their superiors; and their superiors regard them as human cattle. The ordinary interest of an officer in the welfare of his men is entirely lacking. The privates were hastily drafted in Spain, formed into battalions, and rushed across the ocean to Cuba. It was the largest military force ever transported by sea, and it was gathered in a manner that reflects credit upon the home government; but no attention has been paid to moulding this material into soldiers. An experience of several weeks with various columns in the field did not show that the troops were drilled or instructed in the use of their arms. They were given the Mauzer magazine rifle,—a superb weapon; but they have not been taught how to care for it nor how to use it effectively. An examination of several hundreds of these fine rifles, after two months' service, showed them to be in foul condition and more or less out of order. The sights of many of the guns were gone. The men explained that they had long since knocked them off because they tore their clothes. The other accoutrements were often seen tied up with string, wire, and rope.

The officers make no attempt to have the men look neat and orderly. Their uniforms of blue and white drill are invariably filthy; and their stockingless feet are enclosed in *alpargatas* (straw shoes), which are serviceable in dry weather, but which become heavy and go to pieces when the ground is swampy or the rains begin. The slouchy figures are topped by roughly made and dirty straw hats. There is nothing soldierly about the troops or their fortifications. Arm the Italian laborer—so common a sight in New York on his way to work—with a rifle instead of a bag of bread, and you have, in appearance, a sample of the Spanish troops. Their bravery and desire to fight, so as to end the war and go home, are unquestionable: their lament is that their officers will not lead them against the insurgents. This is the kind of soldier General Weyler keeps inactive in his numberless forts, to become homesick and forlorn, and to die slowly of insufficient food or the deadly diseases of the climate.

The greater part of the skirmishing by the Spanish is done by the mounted guerillas,—a nondescript organization composed of renegade

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Cubans, former bandits, and negroes forced to serve or be killed. Each company is supposed to be under a regular army officer; but many are commanded by "reformed" brigand chiefs, who control their movements just as they directed their bands of outlaws before the war. Many of the outrages against life and property which have shocked all civilized nations are committed by these troops. The responsibility for their acts, as well as for the cruel deeds of the regulars, rests upon General Weyler. He attempts to throw it off by pleading that when the atrocities are committed no army officer is in command. There are enough idle Spanish officers of the regular army in Cuba to command five times as many men as there are in the ranks of both armies.

The hotels, cafés, and parks of every city and town on the island are constantly filled with officers smoking, dining, and idling their time away. They are temperate only in drinking. On entering any great centre of population, one is struck by the great number of these "café generals." Over one hundred have been counted in a stroll in the Parque Central in Havana. At that time the neighboring cafés were filled with officers; and they abounded in the clubs and theatres. What can be seen in the capital is observable wherever there is a settlement on the island. Last April there were in Cuba 47 Spanish generals: the field and company officers numbered nearly 11,000. An estimate, made from the best figures obtainable in Havana at the time, showed that there were nearly 30,000 officers, privates, and military attachés doing special duty, and thus prevented from taking any part in active operations. Many of the generals supposed to be in the field were stationed in the larger cities, which were made the centres of the military departments. They frequently ruled the zone as would a conqueror exacting tribute from the people. It was to them that the sugar-planters, tobacco-plantation owners, and cattle-ranch proprietors had to come to ask for soldiers to protect their property. If the soldiers were supplied without a monetary consideration, which was not often, a threat to withdraw them for alleged military manœuvres soon followed.

On an American sugar-estate, supplied with troops to save the ripened cane from being burned by the insurgents, the writer had absolute proof that thousands of dollars were paid to the Spanish general commanding the district, in order that the troops might remain. Colonels and captains were also beneficiaries. At breakfast one morning, the manager of the estate jokingly asked the colonel of a passing column if the war was not turning out too profitable to be speedily closed. The

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colonel replied in an assumed tone of injury: "You make a crop every year: we do not get a chance to make one in ten years. This is our harvest. You ought to be charitable and let us alone."

The large property-owners in Cuba, including, it must be confessed, the American proprietors, have, by their "charity" to the foes of freedom, lengthened this harvest and made it profitable. They have always paid tribute to Spanish civil officials to escape their full taxes and the effect of laws which would otherwise have been made vexatious. They have invested considerable capital in this way; and they do not care to lose its benefits. They say that if the Cuban should obtain control of the government, he would be more avaricious in his demands than the Spaniard, and less apt to accord the benefits and the immunity paid for. The landed proprietors therefore prefer the existing order of things.

This is the explanation of the puzzling attitude of freeborn Americans, who represented to President Cleveland and Secretary Olney that they were thoroughly contented with Spanish dominion, and asserted that, in their judgment, the establishment of a Cuban Republic would be the worst possible outcome of the war. When expostulated with by the writer, after their frank admission of the reason why they favored the Spanish side, many of the proprietors of these great estates defended themselves by saying that the Cuban is not fit to govern himself, and that the vast amount of foreign capital invested in the island should not be endangered by an experimental change of government. The civil woes of the Cuban were acknowledged, and the personal outrages inflicted upon him admitted; but his cry for liberty and a chance to show himself capable of self-government was drowned by the pleadings of dollars and cents.

In one province, the *commandante militar*, when ordered by General Weyler to purchase several hundred horses in the neighborhood, and to pay for them with due-bills on Spain, informed the horse-owners that they need not give up their valuable animals for a worthless $50 draft, but that they could arrange the matter with his secretary. One of the horse-owners paid at the rate of $100 for every horse he was asked to furnish, and was told that horses good enough for the service would be bought in New Orleans or Mexico to make up his quota. The secretary of this *commandante* was said, by a bank clerk who keeps his account, to have deposited $40,000 within three months. The amount of the account of the *commandante* was not learned.

Every steamer that goes eastward along the north or south coast is loaded with troops. They pass other steamers going westward simi-

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larly laden. There is no military necessity for such transportation of forces. In moving from one town to another, if the point of departure is on a railroad connecting with the coast, a march overland of a few miles only is thereby avoided. The troops are taken on a train to a steamer, carried hundreds of miles to a second port, there transported across the island to another steamer, brought down the coast, placed on a train, and moved to the objective town. This is a very common practice. It can only be surmised that an understanding as to commissions exists between the steamboat and railroad companies and the military authorities. It is clearly evident that the money of Spain is lavishly spent in needless transportation.

It would be charitable, in view of its possible advantages, to look at the fort-building as a mere extravagance. The soldiers do the work; but there is much expensive material bought, and contractors have to oversee the building. These forts may be needed at some points to protect property; but they would not be deemed indispensable by a general commanding a great invading army who meant to pursue the enemy and annihilate it. The vast number that has been built has cost Spain an enormous sum. If it has been honestly expended, it has nevertheless been wasted. During the time thus taken to guard against attack, General Weyler has given the insurgent army opportunity to recruit and become well seasoned. He has given the people time to think and to act.

The outbreak which, like a small fire, could have been easily extinguished at the start, has spread, and now blazes in every part of the island. The insurrection has become a revolution. The movement was thought at first to be a negro uprising; and few of the white Cubans were in sympathy with it. To-day the whole native population, amounting to 1,300,000, is actively or secretly trying to throw off the Spanish yoke. The Spanish forces have grown discouraged; and all the officers who are not profiting by the war are disgusted by the failure of the royal army.

General Weyler puts no heart into rank or file by taking the field; for neither has confidence in his ability as a military man. His aimless wanderings in the neighborhood of Santa Clara and Sancti Spiritus during the dry season just passed have not improved the estimation in which he is held by his troops. He has able generals, yet he refuses to listen to their advice, and pursues his own policy. This, it is clear, does not contemplate a determined attempt to encircle Maximo Gomez, close in upon him, capture him, and push on to Puerto Principe

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and Santiago de Cuba to wrest these provinces from Calixto Garcia. The other insurgent bands roaming in the western country might safely be left to the troops that could be spared to conduct similar operations against them. A campaign of this nature would end the war. It would likewise end "the harvest." The officers and soldiers would go back to Spain on a peace footing and less pay. The chances of promotion made easy by brilliant reports of battles never fought would disappear. A promotion carries with it not only honor, but a decoration, which increases the stipend of the wearer in active and retired service.

The Cuban is fighting from higher motives. There are former bandits and foreign adventurers in their army; but the great bulk is made up of educated, patriotic white Cubans, who are struggling for civil rights and the independence of their country. The proportion of negroes to whites in the army is about four to ten.

While not over 10 per cent of the white Cubans have joined the insurgent ranks, they are all against Spain. The 90 per cent who have not gone out to fight are daily risking deportation, or "life-imprisonment in perpetual chains," to help their brothers in the "long grass." The impossibility of securing arms keeps the apparently peaceful Cuban out of the active conflict. It has been truthfully said that if guns should rain from heaven not one would touch the ground.

Helped by the corruption of the Spanish, the Cuban insurgents have been able to establish and maintain the capital of their republic at Cubitas. This is a small village on the top of a mountain only twenty-five miles from the city of Puerto Principe. It would be difficult to carry it by storm; but if General Weyler had laid siege on his arrival it would have fallen before this. Where a Cuban can go, a Spaniard ought to be able to follow. There are large and small detachments of insurgent troops whose duty it is to protect the government officials and enable them to discharge their duties. Every department is in working order; laws are made and executed by authority, taxes collected, marriages performed, schools maintained, newspapers published, and a postal service kept in operation.

The power of the Cuban Republic extends over considerable territory. It has firm possession of the two eastern provinces, except in the cities; and its ability to exercise civil functions is gradually extending toward Havana. A government order from Cubitas is easily delivered to the forces in the enemy's country. This is possible on account of the peculiar instructions given by General Weyler to his

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soldiers protecting the trochas, the railroads, and fortified towns. He directs them to go into their forts when attacked, and not to surrender under any circumstances. The Cubans have no desire to capture these forts, because such victories would be costly and of no profit. They could not hold a fort after they had captured it. They are entirely satisfied to have the Spaniards stay within the fortification while they are moving about the country.

When a Cuban band desires to pass a fort, it sends two or three men to open fire on it. The garrison shuts itself up and pours a hot fire from the loopholes. In the meantime the band passes by at a safe distance. Towns and villages and even cities are entered in the same manner. Being thus able to loot shops and supply-depots, and having plenty of vegetables in their truck-patches on the mountains, the rebels cannot be starved into subjection any more rapidly than they can be conquered by arms under the present policy of the Spanish commander, which is more like that of a pirate ashore than it is of a loyal general engaged in suppressing the foes of his sovereign.

Possessing only a third of the island, with 300,000 loyal Spanish residents remaining in the four uncontrolled provinces, the Cuban Republic has not yet achieved its independence. Its progress in war, and the improving condition of its civil government, clearly entitle it, under the requirements of international law, to look to all liberty-loving nations for recognition of its belligerent rights. Until such action is taken by the United States, the Spaniard will continue to regard the Cuban as a reptile, and treat him as such. Prisoners of war will be shot, as they always have been; the hospitals of sick and wounded insurgents will continue to be raided, their inmates slaughtered in their hammocks; and the whole rural population will be kept in the fortified towns by order of General Weyler, for the avowed purpose of "killing off the insurgent breed by starvation, in order that fresh colonists may come from Spain to make the island loyal" to its unnatural mother.

If recognized as belligerents, the Cubans, without further aid, can win their independence. If these well-earned rights are not accorded, the sickening struggle will go on until the subject of it is destroyed. In the end, the ruins will be lost to Spain. Her army has settled upon the country like hungry wolves upon a wounded fawn. Her sovereignty, like a tree doomed to fall, is toppling, not from the machete-blows upon its trunk, but from the germs of corruption that are rotting away its roots.

THOMAS GOLD ALVORD, JR.

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JOHANNES BRAHMS.

It is quite impossible for an American to appreciate the importance which, in Europe, attaches to newspaper criticism. I do not doubt but that during the recent war between Greece and Turkey the readers of the Vienna "Neue Freie Presse" turned first to the *feuilleton* to look for Hanslick's critique of the last concert or opera before they scanned the despatches from Athens or Constantinople. It is entirely within bounds to say that it was Hanslick's antagonism to Wagner and his friendly attitude toward Brahms that threw musical Germany into two hostile camps. Hanslick caused Wagner many bitter hours; and it is said—humorously, of course—that, when little Siegfried Wagner had the tantrums, Frau Cosima could immediately frighten him into good behavior by calling out: "Hab' Acht! Der Hanslick kommt." ("Take care! Here 's Hanslick.")

I doubt if Brahms personally sympathized with Hanslick's attitude. Certainly he himself went his own way quietly enough. He is known to have been a close student of Wagner's scores. He valued highly several Wagner autographs which had come into his possession; and, from friends of his, we learn that on several occasions he defended Wagner against hostile criticism. Wagner, naturally enough, was exasperated by the attacks made upon him and his art under cover of Brahms's name; and his hostility to Brahms was undisguised. He sneeringly dubbed him a "musical Messiah," and said, sarcastically, that Brahms was a composer "whose importance lay in his not wishing to create any striking effects." He also spoke of certain composers "whose resemblance to Beethoven was limited to their appropriating Beethoven's ideas,"—a reference to the superficial resemblance between the theme of the last movement of Brahms's "First Symphony" and that of the last movement of Beethoven's "Ninth."

Yet these great contemporaries had no point of rivalry in common: they were devoted to wholly different phases of musical composition; and, had not Wagner's opponents chosen Brahms as a bulwark from behind which to attack and harass Wagner, I cannot conceive how their art interests could ever have clashed. Wagner was devoted wholly to

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the stage, and was the successful creator of an entirely new form of musico-dramatic composition. Brahms not only never attempted to compose an opera, but did not care for opera as an art-form. He rarely visited the theatre, and more rarely sat through an entire operatic performance. Not infrequently, after the first act, he would remark to his companion, "You know I understand nothing about the theatre," and would then rise, and leave. So far as he can be said to have had any preference at all among modern operas, his favorite was Bizet's "Carmen,"—by no means an unfortunate choice. As a man, he had an aversion to marriage; as a composer, to opera; and he classed them together. "Toward marriage," he once said, "my position is the same as toward opera. If I had already composed an opera and, for all I care, seen it fail, I should certainly compose another. But I cannot make up my mind to a first opera or a first marriage." There is a fine sense of artistic self-esteem in that "for all I care, seen it fail." No creator in any field of art can be great, if he works with a view to popularity. He may enjoy the glamour of temporary success; but his success ends where that of a real genius begins.

Now that both Wagner and Brahms have passed away, it is to be hoped that the differences between Wagnerians and Brahmsians, which should never have existed, will be wiped out. Fortunately Cosima Wagner, with womanly tact, has herself held out the olive branch in a letter to Hans Richter, written shortly after Brahms's death, which, while it shows the exclusiveness of the inner Bayreuth cult, is at the same time a tribute to Brahms as a musician and a man. Mme. Wagner's letter at least creates an armistice which may prove to be the beginning of a permanent peace,—a concert of musical Europe,—and seems to me, therefore, of great importance. As it has not been widely circulated in English, I give it here:—

"BAYREUTH, April 7, 1897.

MY DEAR, HIGHLY VALUED FRIEND:

The gentlemen of the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* have shown me and my children the honor of notifying us of the passing away of Johannes Brahms. I know of no one better qualified than the faithful friend of our house to transmit the acknowledgment of our thanks for this distinguished attention.

My withdrawal, many years since, from all concert-life has left me wholly unfamiliar with the compositions of the deceased. With the single exception of a piece of chamber-music, none of his works, which have attracted so much attention and won such distinction, has come to my hearing. Personally, also, I had only a passing meeting with him, in the director's box at Vienna, where he had the courtesy to have himself presented to me.

At the same time I have not remained ignorant of his chivalrous spirit and

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attitude toward our art; nor of the fact that his enlightenment was too great for him to have misapprehended what was, perhaps, foreign to him. His character was too noble for him to have nurtured hostility. And this is surely enough to have awakened my genuine sympathy. I beg of you to convey it.

COSIMA WAGNER."

May the effect of this letter be as happy as its phraseology!

Brahms was sixty-four years old when he died. Forty-four years before he had been launched on his career by no less a celebrity than Schumann. Yet he is by no means fully appreciated even now. The trouble with Brahms, so far as concerns public appreciation, is that he never, so to speak, led up to himself. The public expect a composer to be "early," "middle," and "late." His "early," or more or less imitative, period prepares them for the assertion of his distinctive individuality after he has outgrown the influence of his predecessors. His contemporary fame usually rests upon this "middle" period. When he ventures beyond that point, he is accused of excessive subjectivity or morbidness and of violating the principles of true art; which, in fact, he does, by creating new and truer principles. And so a composer's "late" period usually remains a sealed book to all but a few choice spirits until many years after his death. I doubt if we, even in this late year of grace, fully appreciate the "Ninth Symphony," or the last sonatas and quartettes. Brahms declined to be "early," or even "middle." He began "late"; his first works being as Brahmsian as any he ever wrote. The public had to grow up to him from the very beginning—and the public hates to grow.

Poets, novelists, and painters often come of artistically barren ancestry. Nearly all the great composers, on the other hand, have sprung from musical stock. It seems necessary for a family to be in a state of musical fermentation for at least a generation before a great composer can rise to its surface. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Brahms's father played double-bass in the Hamburg Stadt-theater, and was proficient on other instruments.

Brahms was born in Hamburg in 1833. At fourteen he made his *début* there as a pianist; so that his genius for music must have asserted itself at the proverbial early age. The year 1853 was one of the most significant in his career. It was in that year that Schumann published, in the "Neue Zeitschrift für Musik," his now famous article, "Neue Bahnen," in which he pointed to a composer only twenty years old, not one of whose compositions had as yet been published, as the legitimate successor of Beethoven. The following is an extract from that article:—

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"Many new and remarkable geniuses have made their appearance. . . . I thought to follow with interest the pathways of these elect. There would, there must, after such promise, suddenly appear one who should utter the highest ideal expression of the times, who should claim the mastership by no gradual development, but burst upon us fully equipped, as Minerva sprang from the head of Jupiter. And he has come, this chosen youth over whose cradle the Graces and Heroes seem to have kept watch. His name is—Johannes Brahms."

An anecdote, delightfully Brahmsian, both true and charming, tells how Brahms was brought to Schumann's notice. Remenyi, the violinist, was making a concert-tour, and Brahms was accompanying him in a double sense—on the tour and on the piano. At Göttingen they found the pitch of the piano rather low. Beethoven's "Kreutzer Sonata" for violin and piano was on the programme. Without the notes before him, Brahms, without any ado, played the piano part in a key half a tone higher than the original. This remarkable, certainly unusual, feat was witnessed by Joachim, who persuaded the young musician to abandon the tour, and gave him a letter to Schumann, whom Brahms forthwith visited, and to whom he showed a number of his manuscript compositions. The result was "Neue Bahnen."

Such a tribute might have ruined many a young genius; but, as I have already noted, the public did not allow Brahms to become spoiled. When I read "Neue Bahnen" for the first time—more than twenty years after its appearance—Brahms's works were practically unknown in America. The "Hungarian Dances"—on the title-page of which he has placed, with characteristic modesty, "Arranged by Johannes Brahms," though they are as much his as the "Hungarian Rhapsodies" and "Fantasia" are Liszt's—were his first compositions to attract attention in this country. They became very popular; yet, when later his "First Symphony" was played here for the first time, doubts as to the accuracy of Schumann's prophecy were expressed, and it was questioned if von Bülow had not exaggerated the merits of the Symphony when he spoke of it as "the Tenth." Even now, his works—when their depth and beauty are considered—are making their way but slowly. With the appreciation of Brahms, it is much as with the appreciation of Browning. The latter's admirers are numerous and most ardent; but he can hardly be called a popular poet. Similarly Brahms's admirers are numerous and ardent;—indeed there is no need of a select Brahmsian cult as there once was with Browning;—but he is not yet a popular composer. The similarity between Brahms and Browning is not limited to this one external. Both achieve dramatic intensity through a terseness of expression which at

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times seems harsh; both are original; and the works of both are resonant with that deep baritone *timbre* which is most characteristic of manhood. Fortunately too, like Browning, Brahms was not diverted from his ideals by any desire to cater to popular taste. He worked quietly on, indifferent to the fate of his work with the public. He found, as other geniuses have found, his greatest reward in the joy of creating. When Cherubini was complaining on his deathbed of the popular indifference to his music, someone remarked, "But, Maestro, think of posthumous fame!" Whereupon Cherubini quietly said, "My friend, at a time like this, poor jokes are out of place." But, after all, there is enough satisfaction to atone for contemporary indifference in the feeling that in the years to come one will be appreciated, not forgotten.

The work which first established Brahms's reputation in Germany was his "German Requiem" (*Op.* 47), first given in its entirety in the Cathedral at Bremen in April, 1868. Brahms had had some experience in conducting vocal societies, through which he had acquired facility in handling choral masses; and he had already composed a number of secular and sacred choruses—among them a "Funeral Hymn" which seems in a measure to prelude the "Requiem."

This latter is undoubtedly the most important choral work of modern times. It is a German requiem in so far that Brahms, both in form and spirit, made a radical departure from the requiem of the Latin Church, selecting and arranging the text from the German Bible, and choosing such verses as made it a song of hope rather than of grief; and as the text, though taken from different portions of the Bible, is pervaded by a certain unity of spirit, so this unity is preserved in the music. It is in seven divisions, all of which seem, however, to have sprung from the single idea of hope in a divine future; the impression of unity being enhanced by a repetition, toward the finale of the work, of the principal theme of the first chorus. Besides such technical triumphs as the pedal-point fugue in D in the third chorus, and the climacteric double fugue at the end of the sixth, the work abounds in many tender and benign passages, of which, perhaps, the most exquisite is that message of peace, "Yea, I will comfort you," for solo soprano and chorus, in the fifth division.

This requiem is Brahmsian to the core. It is faultless as regards form; but, while conservative in this respect, it is, musically, modern of the modern. Even the fugues belong to the nineteenth century. They are, perhaps, the only fugues composed since the passing away of

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the great contrapuntists that do not wear *perruques*. It is the great distinction of Brahms to have shown that thoroughly modern music can be composed within established forms. Brahms is the successor of no classical composer. He has been a conservator of classical form, especially in his symphonies, sonatas, and works of chamber-music; but in the music which he has created within these forms he has shown himself the most original and most modern composer, except Wagner, of the last half of this century. I do not wish my attitude toward Wagner to be misunderstood. I consider him the greatest of all composers. Yet I cannot fail to recognize the depth and beauty of Brahms's genius, and the importance of the service he has rendered to music. But for him, the music-drama might have become a juggernaut.

The "German Requiem" marks one extreme of Brahms's work for chorus; the charming "Liebeslieder," in waltz-form, the other. I mention these also for another reason. For many years Hanslick was an intimate friend of Brahms, and his prophet among critics. Yet, with fine, artistic tact, Brahms not once, during their intercourse, referred to Hanslick's numerous enthusiastic criticisms of his music. But, upon opening the "Liebeslieder," Hanslick found that they were dedicated to him.

In his symphonies and works of chamber-music, Brahms again shows his complete mastery of form,—that mastery which controls instead of being controlled,—and does not hesitate to make innovations where these grow out of artistic necessities and are in keeping with the eternal verities of art. For instance, in his piano quintette, unexcelled by any work of its class, he developed the first movement to the extent of introducing a third theme in addition to the two sanctioned by the traditional form. The last movement of his "Fourth Symphony" is a wholly new departure in symphonic writing—so new that it has proved somewhat of a *crux* even to Brahmsians. It is, however, nothing more than an eight-bar theme with variations,—a revival of the old *passacaglia*. The variations bear the Brahms stamp. Each is characteristic and individual, yet is obviously related æsthetically to the original theme.

The original minuet division of the symphony—later on the *scherzo*—has been changed by Brahms into a kind of *intermezzo*,—a word I do not use here in its technical sense. These *intermezzi* are among the most charming things he has composed. They form points of rest between the longer divisions of his symphonies. While not yielding to these in amazing technical construction, they appeal more readily to the emotions, and, therefore, have been almost immediately appreciated. If

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I remember rightly, when Brahms's "First Symphony" had its initial hearing in New York, the first movement, with its strenuous yet sombre passion, and the second movement, with its lovely theme elusively evading the tonal cadence,—which is at last reached through a series of unexpected and beautiful modulations,—were understood by comparatively few. But the *allegretto* was encored. The *allegretto* of the "Third Symphony" is a musical pearl; and the *andante moderato* of the "Fourth" has the sad beauty of an elegy. Brahms's dramatic concentration is apparent in many passages in these symphonies; witness, in the introduction to the "First," the superb climax reached through a series of chromatic progressions encompassed within only four bars. Brahms is not a *virtuoso* in instrumentation,—or rather his thoughts have not that external brilliancy that lends itself to virtuosity of instrumentation. He lays more stress on the what than on the how. Yet there are some lovely bits; such as the horn solo introducing the *coda* in the first movement of the "Second Symphony," and the *coda* itself, which is full of sensuous charm.

Brahms's songs seem to be more generally appreciated than his other works. They, too, made their way slowly at first; but now Brahms's *Lieder* are included in the *repertoire* of almost every concert singer of eminence, and are heard with growing frequency even in America, where Brahms has been far more neglected than in Germany and England. There are also a number of amateurs in New York (and I presume there are such in other cities) with whom the singing of Brahms amounts almost to a cult. It is a fact that, with Brahms, familiarity breeds, instead of contempt, something even more than admiration—a deep and abiding love almost amounting to worship.

Brahms has composed nearly one hundred and sixty songs. His last published work was a group of "Ernste Lieder" ("Serious Songs"), —a title which, as his death followed so soon after their publication, had a solemnly prophetic significance.

Brahms's fame could rest securely upon his songs. Still working within established forms, he has again poured thoroughly original and, above all, thoroughly modern music into them. His are the most modern songs—more modern even than those of Schumann or Franz. Schubert, Schumann, Franz, and Brahms are the four great figures in the development of the *Lied*.

Schubert was primarily a melodist; and, although a number of his songs, like "Auf dem Wasser zu Singen," "Die Junge Nonne," "Hark, Hark, the Lark!" and, most notably, "Der Erlkönig," have realistically

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descriptive accompaniments, they and the vocal melody are not interwoven or interknit, but rather stand out one from the other: so that his songs, as a whole, are most famous for their melodious beauty. Schubert was not at all exacting in his choice of words. Anything in the way of verse seemed to satisfy him; and it has been said that, if poetry had given out, he could have set sign-boards to music. Schumann and Franz, on the other hand, were most careful in the choice of subjects for their songs. With them, a song was not a thing to be tossed off in the inspiration of the moment: it was something to be not only musically composed, but also *intellectually thought out.* Voice and accompaniment become, with them, more interdependent; prelude and postlude, more significant; and the piano part is emotionally expressive rather than realistically descriptive. With Franz, the detailed working out of his material is carried almost to the extreme of subjectivity. He himself disclaimed dramatic intentions. Fortunately this disclaimer was only another instance of genius being mistaken in itself, as anyone who has heard Lehmann sing "Im Herbst" must realize. Quite unconsciously, Schumann and Franz, when writing their *Lieder*, were, in fact, composing little music-dramas with one *Leitmotif* instead of twenty.

Brahms is as careful as either Schumann or Franz in selecting the poetic material for his songs; but in setting a poem to music he seeks to penetrate into the very heart of the poet, and to interpret the emotional significance of the poem as a whole. This emotional trend of the words he embodies in his vocal melody. A Brahms song is not a realistic expression of every passing mood reflected in the poet's lines. It is the musical expression of the thought or feeling out of which the poem grew, and so includes those minor moods as it develops with unerring certainty toward its climax. Thus again we have an illustration of Brahms's power of concentration. The inter-relation between the vocal melody and the accompaniment is absolute. The latter rarely carries the melody, but is closely interknit with it harmonically; so that voice and accompaniment glide, flow, or rush on together in one great stream of music. Brahms is truly Bachian in his compact leading of parts. For complete grasp of subject and terseness of expression, note the brief, constantly recurring phrase in the depths of the accompaniment to his very first song, "O Versenk." In his "Wiegenlied" (*Op.* 49, No. 4) the technical workmanship is so delicate that it actually produces the effect of greater simplicity upon the hearer. It is an exquisite cradle song. Brahms never thrusts his mastership of technique upon

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the listener. He regards it as an artistic means to an artistic end. Thus the emotional appeal of that beautiful song, "Wir wandelten, wir zwei zusammen," is so direct and immediate that we do not realize, until we analyze it, that it begins in canon form.

There is one great characteristic of Brahms which no student of his songs can fail to appreciate. His climaxes are musical, in the strictest, purest sense. Take, for instance: "Wie bist Du Meine Königin"—perhaps the most frequently sung of his *Lieder*. The climax is reached on the very last word of the poem—the exclamation "Wonevoll!" It is thrice repeated. Brahms produces, on the third repetition, a climax neither loud nor strenuous, but so deep, so moving, that the singer seems to be offering up his own heart; and this emotional wrench is due not to a massing of chords, not to an uprushing of runs, but to a simple prolongation of a phrase by one bar, and a superb descending sweep of the voice.

For the piano Brahms has composed two concertos, several sets of variations, and shorter pieces, among them the series from *Op.* 116–119, which preceded the "Serious Songs" (*Op.* 120), his last work. Modern piano music usually echoes Chopin and Liszt. Only one composer has been gifted with genius enough to enable him to work independently of those two great masters. The exception is Brahms. The "Intermezzo in E flat minor" (*Op.* 118, No. 6) is, to me, the most profound expression of the tragic that we have in piano music; but you will listen in vain for a note of Chopin or Liszt in it.

Brahms led a quiet life, devoted, in the largest sense of the word, to his art. Until overtaken by the disease which proved fatal, he enjoyed rugged health. It was said of him that he "made foot-tours like a student, and slept like a child." He appears also to have been a child of nature in social intercourse; which gave rise to the anecdote of his parting remark at a musical soirée in Vienna: "I beg the company's pardon if I have neglected to offend anybody this evening."

In conclusion, if I were asked to sum up in a single sentence Brahms's service to art, I should say that it consisted in his having created, within established forms, music wholly original, thoroughly modern, and profoundly beautiful.

GUSTAV KOBBÉ.

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A RADICAL DEFECT IN OUR CIVIL SERVICE LAW.

THE Civil Service of the United States Government had its origin in 1789, when the heads of the executive departments were empowered to make appointments to office. The first regulation regarding the power of appointment was made in 1853, when a law was enacted which provided for a partial classification of the Service, as well as for examinations to test the qualification of applicants for office in the departments at Washington. By the Act of 1871, the President was authorized to prescribe such rules for admission to the Civil Service as would best promote its efficiency. In none of these Acts, however, was the power of removal limited.

At the time of the first classification there were only 722 clerks in the departments; while the total number of employees was about 33,000. The Service increased so rapidly, however, that in 1867 it numbered 60,000; in 1877, 85,000; in 1881, 124,000; and in 1883, 131,800. This remarkable growth of a service which might be used for partisan ends has been characterized in recent years as an increasing menace to a republican form of government; and it was the recognition of this circumstance that inspired the reform movement which resulted in the Civil Service Act of 1883. As this Act has never been amended, it is the only statutory expression of the reform movement, and the only law which stands in the way of the spoilsman. While it places a slight restriction upon the power of removal,—prohibiting, as it does, the dismissal of an employee for giving or refusing to give a political contribution, or, for reasons political or religious,—nevertheless, like the Acts of 1853 and 1871, its primary object was to regulate the power of appointment. Under its provisions the fitness of every applicant for admission to the classified Service must be ascertained by an examination; the names of those who pass being entered upon a list of eligibles in the order of merit. Upon a vacancy occurring the first three names must be presented to the appointing officer by the local Civil Service Board, which certifies them; and one of the three must be selected. The names may remain on the list of eligibles for one year, and may be certified for appointment three times. If, by the end of

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this period, the applicant has not secured an appointment, he is dropped from the list. Whether the advocates and framers of this law, whose object was to purify politics by the destruction of official patronage, really believed that this plan would be more efficacious than one which would regulate both appointments and removals, does not appear. As the law has now been in operation for thirteen years, it may not be out of place to inquire whether it has entirely succeeded in abolishing political patronage, or whether an amendment is essential in order that the purposes of the reform movement may be accomplished.

Civil Service reform is frequently discussed in too general a manner; the main point involved not being sufficiently emphasized. A merit system of appointment having been established by law, it would appear to follow, as a logical sequence, that removals should not be made without cause. And there is a popular impression that a provision of this nature does exist—that persons in the classified service of the Government cannot be dismissed without good reason. That this view is erroneous, however, becomes clear when we consider that the Act only regulates entrance to the Service; there being no legal obstruction to removals. Consequently, although the percentage of removals is smaller than formerly, no employee, however efficient, can feel assured that he will not be one of the comparatively few to be dismissed.

While it is true that something has been done by the Act of 1883 to prevent political assessments, it is no less true that the selection of a list of eligibles—its primary aim—has become the means of enhancing the power of the spoilsman as well as of the reformer. As the power of the spoilsman to influence his supporters depends upon the value of his patronage, a fruitful soil is left for him so long as some offices remain for distribution. At present, the total number of employees is 178,717. Of these, 91,635 (including 72,371 postmasters) are unclassified and unaffected by the provisions of the Civil Service Act; 2,842 are exempt from examination; and the remainder, 84,240, are in the classified Service, admission to which can be obtained only after examination. Ninety-four thousand offices are absolutely at the disposal of the victors; and, of the 84,000 classified employees, there is not one that may not be removed at any moment without cause, if the head of his department thinks fit. While the list of eligibles debars many active and valuable political workers from obtaining positions in the classified Service, because it requires qualifications which they cannot attain, those who can qualify themselves by passing the necessary examination may be said to have an excellent

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point of vantage. And it is, perhaps, for this reason that so many men in active political life are willing to give their approval to Acts for the regulation of the Civil Service, particularly so long as the power of removal shall remain unimpaired.

That, indeed, many active reformers do not regard it necessary to apply to removals the same searching investigation and supervision that now govern appointments, is shown by the following resolution, which was adopted at the annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League held at Philadelphia on December 11, 1896 :—

"The League fully recognizes the importance of preserving to responsible superior officers the power of removal of their subordinates, whenever in their judgment this power should be exercised in the public interest; but the League deems it no less important that the officer exercising this power should do it with full and trustworthy information as to the facts, and that reasonable safeguards should be afforded to employees against the loss of a livelihood for personal or political reasons."

The safeguards concerning removals to which this resolution refers are not provisions of law, but simply administrative orders issued voluntarily by the heads of executive departments; thus showing that reformers as well as spoilsmen seem to be content to have the law halt at the list of eligibles. That in fact, however, this list has proved inadequate to destroy political influence, is indicated by the following extract from the "Tenth Annual Report" of the Civil Service Commission :—

"Although the present United States Civil Service law deals with dismissals only in a narrowly limited number of cases; yet, by the control it exercises over entrance to the Service, it has greatly reduced the risk of dismissal for political or personal reasons. Nevertheless, dismissals for these reasons do undoubtedly obtain in many instances. Upon every change of Administration, both in the departments at Washington and still more in the local offices throughout the country, instances occur where men are turned out either for political reasons or for other reasons wholly unconnected with the good of the Service or misconduct on the part of the officer removed. In some offices and bureaus, the number of removals of this kind forms a serious scandal. The Commission firmly believes that the cause for removal should always be stated in writing, that the accused should be given an opportunity to be heard in his own defence, and that, wherever the accused demands it, the cause of the removal should be published in full. We think the Commission should have the power to investigate and report upon all removals."

On page 17 of its "Eleventh Annual Report," the Civil Service Commission, referring to removals, says :—

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"The Commission could much more effectively deal with these cases if it had the power to investigate all cases of dismissal, and to administer oaths. These powers ought to be conferred upon it."

On page 19, we find:—

"It has been often claimed, with some show of reason, that any interference with the arbitrary power of removal, even to the extent of requiring reasons to be stated, and giving the accused a hearing, would weaken the discipline and impair the efficiency of the Service. The Commission has never believed this to be true, but the contrary; and it is convinced that its belief will find a complete justification in the Postal Service, under the order of the Postmaster-General. . . . And the Commission is fully convinced that, to some extent, religious and political considerations will influence dismissals until there is a requirement of law and rule that not only shall the reasons for dismissal be made a matter of record and be made known to the person to be dismissed, but that he also be given an opportunity to be heard in his own defence."

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations of the Fifty-third Congress reports on the Consular System as follows:—

"Fitness of the candidate, permanency of tenure during good behavior, an impartial method of selection, and promotion as a reward for efficiency, are the principles on which a useful Consular Service can alone be based, with an expectation of the best results."

In view of the facts here presented, it appears to the employees that, in order to accomplish the purposes of the reform, the Act of 1883 must be amended in very material particulars. They are of the opinion (1) that, in order to prevent political assessments, a statute should be enacted which would render it unlawful for employees of the Government to make contributions for political purposes; (2) that tenure of office during good behavior is absolutely essential; and that, consequently, removals should be subject to the same supervision as appointments.

There are two principal reasons assigned for opposing legislation which would establish tenure of office during good behavior. The first is, that the proper discipline of the Service requires that the arbitrary power of removal should be lodged somewhere. The employees believe that this position is untenable. They do not advocate any tenure of office more permanent than that which would depend upon merit or fitness. Under that tenure the certainty of removal for neglect or insubordination would furnish all the discipline that is necessary. The second objection raises the dread spectre of an office-holding class. It has been charged that the employees desire to create such a body, and that they are organizing to accomplish this end. The only possible class of this nature in the United States could be a number of

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citizens who would hold office continuously during good behavior. Again, there are persons who predict the gradual evolution of an office-holding class of citizens in whom some vested right to office would develop and in time even become hereditary; but it is difficult to believe that anyone seriously imagines that, even by provisions of law, an appointment to a clerkship could develop into a grant of a vested right. If there are persons who really entertain such fears, an investigation of the Service would show how unfounded they are.

Organizations of the employees have been formed in order that they may be more fitly represented. Through their committees, they have petitioned Congress to consider the propriety of making some provision for their retirement, when they shall have become disabled; such provision to be made at their expense and to be under governmental control. They have also pointed out the necessity of providing by law for a tenure of office during good behavior. More than this they have not sought, nor do they desire. Many persons have no true conception of the magnitude of the Service, and do not recognize the significance of the fact that officials who pass upon questions of revenues and disbursements involving many millions annually may be peremptorily removed by the head of a department without the legal necessity of assigning any specific cause. If the independence which results from the certainty of tenure of office be essential for the judge, the great interests involved in the discharge of the duties imposed by law upon executive officers and their subordinates seem to demand a similar independence, or at least a tenure of office not dependent upon the fortunes of political warfare.

DUNCAN VEAZEY.

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SUGAR BOUNTIES AND THEIR INFLUENCE.

A SUBJECT now attracting widespread attention in our country is that of the bounties paid by foreign countries on exports of sugar. The discussions upon this question have emphasized the fact that the nature and magnitude of these bounties are but little understood by our people; and, as Congress has under consideration a revision of the Tariff, in which the import taxes on sugar form one of the principal items, a brief explanation of the issue at the present time may not be inopportune.

The bounties paid to sugar producers are of two classes: direct and indirect. The former is illustrated by the McKinley law of 1890, which provides for a premium to be paid on all sugar made from domestic sources. The indirect bounty—also designed to promote domestic production—provides for a drawback on taxes paid, for a partial remission of taxes, or for a direct premium on the amount of sugar exported. This bounty is burdened with a feature which has proved most troublesome. I refer to the provision for a direct tax, computed on the basis of the legal yield of sugar from beets, fixed at a given percentage. Under this system any excess of production over the legal yield escapes taxation, wholly or in part.

It is impossible within a short space to discuss the question of bounties in all its bearings. I shall, therefore, consider only the premiums or bounties paid by the German and French governments on exported sugars.

The German law now in force became effective on May 29, 1896. This law, in so far as it relates to premiums on exported sugar, is as follows:—

"Section 77. When sugar in quantities of at least 500 kilograms is exported, or deposited in public or private warehouses under official control (bonded warehouses), and not intended for domestic consumption, it is entitled to the following direct premiums:

(*a*) Raw sugar of at least 90 per cent purity, and refined sugar under 98 per cent purity, 2.50 marks per 100 kilograms (0.269 cent per pound).

(*b*) Loaf sugar and all sugars in pure white blocks or cubes of at least 99.5 per cent purity, 3.55 marks per 100 kilograms (0.383 cent per pound).

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(*c*) For all other sugars of at least 98 per cent purity, 3.00 marks per 100 kilograms (0.324 cent per pound).

Section 79. The Bundesrath is authorized to lower or abolish the above premiums when other countries paying bounties on exported beet sugars lower or abolish them.

Section 80. The tariff on imported sugars of all kinds, solid and liquid, is 40 marks per 100 kilograms (4.32 cents per pound)."

The French law now in force bears date of April 7, 1897, and was promulgated in the "Journal Officiel" of April 8, 1897. Its provisions relating to direct bounties on exported sugars are these:—

"(*a*) Unrefined sugars, granular or in small crystals, of at least 98 per cent polarization for beet sugars, and 97 per cent for colonial cane sugars, the polarization being made before the deduction of loss during refining, receive a bounty of 5 francs per 100 kilograms (0.35 cent per pound) of pure sugar contained therein. When, however, sugars of this category are so pure that they polarize not less than 99.75 per cent, they are entitled at their full weight to the rate of bounty enjoyed by exported unrefined sugars.

(*b*) Raw sugars polarizing from 65 to 98 per cent for beet sugars and from 65 to 97 per cent for colonial cane sugars receive for each 100 kilograms of pure sugar contained therein, 3 francs 50 centimes (0.31 cent per pound).

(*c*) Rock crystal sugars (candied sugars) are entitled to a bounty of 4 francs 50 centimes (0.39 cent per pound) per 100 kilograms of pure sugar.

(*d*) Refined sugars in loaves or blocks, perfectly white, hard, and dry, 4 francs 50 centimes per 100 kilograms (0.39 cent per pound).

(*e*) Powdered sugars, for each 100 kilograms of pure sugar therein, 4 francs 50 centimes (0.39 cent per pound).

(*f*) Refined sugars in grains or crystals polarizing at least 98 per cent, 4 francs per 100 kilograms (0.35 cent per pound). When the sugars of this last category polarize 99.75, they will be considered as pure refined sugars and will be entitled to a bounty at their full weight without any deduction whatever."

It is important to note in connection with these laws, especially the French, that indirect bounties on export sugar are secured by a duplex system of taxation—a tax on the domestic industry, and one on importations. In all the sugar-producing countries of Europe the domestic sugar industry is highly taxed. In each of these, however, the duties levied on importations are invariably higher than the tax on domestic production. The object of this is to secure the consumption of domestic sugars, and practically to exclude those of foreign origin. The wisdom of such a fiscal policy cannot be discussed here. A glance at the rate of consumption, however, in the principal European countries will show how the high taxes on sugar, both internal and at the frontier, tend to restrict its consumption to a minimum.

The annual *per capita* consumption of sugar in Germany is about

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27 pounds; in France, 31 pounds; in Russia, 11 pounds; in Austria, 20 pounds; in England, 86 pounds; and in the United States, 63 pounds. In other words, the rate of consumption per head is almost inversely proportional to the rate of taxation.

It is difficult to compute exactly the magnitude of the indirect bounties which accrue to the exporter by reason of this system of taxation. In France the rate of domestic taxation is based on the supposition that the yield of pure sugar is 7.75 per cent of the weight of the beets. Whatever is produced in excess of this amount escapes all or a part of the internal tax, and in this way receives an indirect bounty. The amount of this indirect bounty, therefore, varies with the yield of sugar per ton. For instance, if the yield of refined sugar be 11 per cent, the indirect premium is 8 francs 18 centimes per 100 kilograms (0.72 cent per pound); if 10 per cent, 6 francs 75 centimes per 100 kilograms; if 9 per cent, 4 francs 17 centimes per 100 kilograms (0.36 cent per pound). If, however, the manufacturer waive all claim to premiums over the legal yield, he is guaranteed a fixed premium of 4 francs 15 centimes per 100 kilograms (0.36 cent per pound) on all the refined sugar produced. It is fair to assume that the annual amount of premium on all production in excess of the legal yield will be about the mean between the above-mentioned extremes; *i. e.*, 6 francs 75 centimes per 100 kilograms (0.59 cent per pound) on refined sugar.

In order that a government may be enabled to pay either a direct or an indirect bounty, the funds must necessarily be obtained by a tax on the sugar consumed. All fiscal legislation which provides for direct or indirect bounties must, therefore, be based on a tax on the domestic consumption; and the tax must be proportionate to the magnitude of such consumption. It is evident that the funds available for this indirect bounty depend upon the ratio between the total production and consumption. In France the selling price of sugar for domestic consumption is determined by the duty on imports. If the manufacturer could dispose of his total product for home consumption, the amount of profit would be equal to the difference between the internal tax and the tariff on foreign sugars. Now, if to this profit we add that accruing from the excess of the actual over the legal yield (7.75 per cent of pure sugar), we shall see that the manufacturer has two great sources of revenue; viz., (1) the difference between the internal and the tariff taxes; and (2) the rebate in internal tax arising from the excess of yield; this rebate alone being regarded as the true bounty. The total amount of sugar yielded in excess of that fixed

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by law varies with the richness of the beet in saccharine matter, and the efficiency of the process of manufacture; consequently only an approximate estimate of the profits obtained in this way can be made.

The excess of production over consumption must either be carried as stock on hand or exported. The immediate purpose of the direct premium is to force this surplus into the export trade by offering it to other sugar-producing nations at less than cost price, or at least at a price lower than that of rival dealers. The consumer in the country whence the sugar is exported not only pays the freight, but also makes a contribution to the family expenses of the purchaser. Fortunately, in the United States, taxes are not yet levied for the support of private families in other countries.

During the past twelve years France has produced 7,985,093 tons of sugar, on which an indirect premium of 653,022,000 francs ($126,033,246) was received,—a mean annual premium of 54,418,000 francs ($10,502,771). During the same period Germany produced 14,810,333 tons, on which an indirect premium of 263,444,000 francs was paid ($50,844,692),—an annual premium of 21,954,000 francs ($4,237,058). The quantities mentioned above are expressed in metric tons, equivalent to 2204.6 pounds each. In Austria the maximum of the indirect premium is fixed by law. From 1888 to 1896 the annual rate was 5,000,000 florins ($2,023,000). Last year the maximum amount of premiums allowed by the Austrian government was 9,000,000 florins ($3,641,000), and for this year the same sum is given.

The effect of the premium on exports of sugar is twofold. In the first place, it stimulates domestic production in the country in which the premium is paid, by securing a larger market for the sugar produced. The high taxes in Continental countries restrict the home consumption, and, unless an outlet be found, the limit of the industry is soon reached. By reason of the high premium received, exporters are enabled to undersell in the markets of the world those whose sugars are grown without the stimulus of a direct or indirect bounty. In the second place, the effect of the premiums on exported sugar is to cheapen its cost to the consumers in non-producing countries, whereby the consumption in those countries is increased. The effect of the bounties is seen chiefly in England, which, in proportion to its population, is the largest sugar-consuming country in the world. England levies no import duty on sugar; consequently, the price of sugars in the London market is not subject solely to the law of supply and demand, but is cheapened in direct proportion to the amount of premiums paid by Continental

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countries. The result has been one of which, upon the whole, the English people have had no reason to complain. But, on the other hand, the English sugar-refiners and the British sugar-producing colonies have been practically ruined by the Continental system of bounties. Indeed, so great has been the distress produced thereby that, on various occasions, Parliament has seen fit to investigate the subject; and Parliamentary committees have not only debated upon it in London, but one such committee has recently visited all the principal colonial centres of sugar production.

In this country the effect of the Continental bounties is beginning to be seriously felt; and the situation has lately been rendered more acute by reason of the difficulties in Cuba, which island in the past has been our natural source of supply. The war has reduced the Cuban production, in round numbers, from 1,000,000 to 100,000 tons; and, by reason of the great plethora of sugar in Continental Europe, caused by the application of the bounty system, almost the whole of this deficit has been drawn from beet-sugar-producing countries. It is safe to say that, at the present rate of consumption, our annual importation of beet sugar amounts to 800,000 tons,—an increase of 700,000 tons in three years.

In formulating the revenue bill now before Congress the European bounty system must be considered. The principal difficulty involved in this bill lies in harmonizing conflicting interests of the producer and the refiner. By retaining the obsolete system of valuing sugars according to the Dutch standard of color, however, this difficulty is only increased. One hundred years ago, when the Dutch colonies produced cane sugar in a uniform manner by the same process of manufacture, the character of the sugar was rather definitely determined by its color. But modern systems of manufacture have rendered such tests absolutely worthless. The retention of this standard in our customs duties is the "open sesame" to favoritism and every conceivable fraud.

Another complication arises from a desire on the part of our sugar-refiners to levy at least a large portion of the duty according to the value of the sugar imported. The effect of such a system of valuation may be readily demonstrated by taking as an example the French sugars, on which the export premium is about one cent a pound; the actual price of the sugar being diminished by that amount. This means that the total amount of duty received by us on this sugar would be at least 40 per cent below the amount collected, if the bounty paid by

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France were abolished. By reason of the great difficulty in fixing the amount of duty on sugar produced under such a complicated fiscal system as that which now obtains in France, an attempt to levy a countervailing duty equal in amount to the export premiums would not be an adequate security. Such an attempt would be followed by endless litigation; and meanwhile the revenues would suffer. An excess of duty equal to any direct bounty could easily be determined; but the amount of indirect premium would still vary from year to year with the changing conditions in the country where the sugar was produced. Even in the case of Austria, with its fixed maximum premium, it would be difficult to adjust a countervailing duty, unless the quantity of sugar exported annually were always the same. If all systems of bounty on export were abolished, and the anachronistic Dutch standard of color put aside, it would be possible to levy and collect a perfectly fair *ad valorem* import duty.

In the present state of our finances the collection of a duty on imported sugars is necessary; and all classes of political economists, whether protectionists or free-traders, can agree upon this point. It is now the duty of the people of this country to demand (1) the abrogation of the obsolete, unscientific, and erroneous Dutch standard color-test; and (2) that, pending the abolition of all premiums on exports, the duties on all imports be levied specifically, and upon their sugar content alone. The polariscope affords a speedy and accurate measure of the value of every cargo of sugar, and, when used under proper scientific safeguards, secures a perfectly honest and fair valuation, which everybody can comprehend, and which does absolute justice to all.

The problem of foreign sugar bounties should not be difficult to solve. The nature and amount of these bounties, in the two principal sugar-producing countries of Europe, have been pointed out. We have in the United States a growing sugar industry, especially in beets. There is no reason why this industry should not expand rapidly until a large part, if not all, of the sugar consumed in the United States, is of domestic origin. At present, a little less than one-sixth of the whole amount consumed is made at home. The experience of European countries points out the course we ought to pursue in regard to this great agricultural industry. The import duty on sugar should be just sufficient to raise the needed amount of revenue and to secure a moderate protection for our planters. We should never follow the erroneous policy of attempting to raise revenue by directly taxing production, and at the same time levying an equally high duty on imports;

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for such a procedure would only diminish the consumption of sugar, by reason of its rapid advance in price. It is quite certain that the actual cost price of making sugar hereafter will rarely rise above three cents a pound; and the cost of the refined article to the consumer should never go beyond five cents a pound. This difference would leave a sufficient margin for the legitimate profits of transporters, refiners, and grocers.

The refining interests of our country already command such expert technical skill, such methods and machinery, as to enable them to take care of their own business without any favors from Congress. Legitimate profits in refining sugar can be easily secured without the unreliable discrimination in color made possible by the Dutch standard, and without the aid of any differential duty on refined sugar, or any complicated method of levying duties on imported sugars.

Unless the other sugar-producing countries of the world take some restrictive action, it is hard to say where the policy which is now controlling European producers will lead them. Instead of diminishing, we see the premiums on exports increasing. France has met the direct bounty offered by Germany, and is prepared to go further. Other sugar-producing countries in Europe are clamoring for the same degree of support furnished by Germany and France. Unless an end is put to this merry war, it may go on until sugar can be delivered in London at simply the cost of transportation, or at a still lower figure.

It is not my purpose to discuss here the disastrous effects which such a course will eventually produce among the Continental nations of Europe. It is sufficient to consider it in relation to our own policy, in order to ascertain how it will affect our interests. It is certain that the laws now governing the sugar industry in Europe, unless met by proper countervailing duties, will check and eventually destroy that department of our agricultural industry which is so eagerly turning its attention to the production of sugar. Our legislators need, therefore, regard only the open facts, and, rejecting all other influences, consider those alone which aim at the raising of revenue and the legitimate protection of our agricultural interests. In this way they will eventually be able to establish a fiscal policy which will be perfectly just to all parties concerned.

H. W. WILEY.

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE EDUCATIONAL IDEAL.—I.

THE evolution of the educational ideal has a twofold interest: a theoretical and a practical one. (1) A theoretical interest, as regards our conception of history; for the spirit of the times, the general conformation and tendency of any given period, nowhere become so clearly discernible as in the prevailing ideal of education. (2) A practical interest; for, by following the historical development of the educational ideal, we become enabled to form an idea of the future. After all, the primary aim of all political, social, and intellectual endeavors is to furnish a standard for individual conduct. In this article I shall sketch the various changes in the educational ideal within the pale of our civilization to the present time, and in my next, point out the tendencies of the present, and their bearing on the future.

Among the modern nations of Europe three types of the educational ideal have become conspicuous; viz., (1) the Clerical, (2) the Courtly, (3) the Civic.

The Clerical-religious ideal dominates the Middle Ages, and retains a preponderant influence to the middle of the seventeenth century. The Courtly, or, as it may be termed, the Courtly-French, ideal—the ideal of polite society—becomes prominent in the seventeenth, and rules the eighteenth, century. The Civic has been in the ascendant since the middle of the eighteenth, and dominates the nineteenth, century.

(1) In the Middle Ages the church is the supreme form of intellectual life. Science and art are in her service: every form of education emanates from her. All schools are clerical organizations: the clergy are the teachers; and the scholars also, as a rule, belong to the clerical profession. The various branches of instruction comprise the clerical arts: reading, writing, the language and the science of the church, church-music, church-service, and ritualistic exercises. The laity, also, may be said to be under the influence of this educational ideal. The type of human perfection is patterned after the idea of Christian purity, and finds its perfect expression in the saint. Renunciation of the

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world, and the contemplation of the eternal life are the fundamental principles that shape men's thoughts and sentiments. Such, in brief, is the type which serves as the model of all education. It is probable that the purely human desires and aspirations then, as now, exercised their sway; but the ideal itself assumed that supernatural and ascetic form which mediæval Christianity had inherited from the Christianity of the Greeks and Romans.

With the advent of the twelfth century, which left so deep an imprint upon mediæval history, the modern races of Europe, which had at first rather superficially adopted the dogma of the church and the legacy of the ancients, begin to show signs of independent activity. Worldly culture, worldly literature, and science are introduced. Among the chivalrous society of the courts a new ideal of education takes shape,—the educational ideal of the new nobility, trained to arms and the service of the state. Consequently this ideal is characterized by military skill, knightly courtesy, bravery, fidelity, and a high sense of justice, which considers the protection of the weak and the oppressed as its foremost duty. At the beginning of the thirteenth century there arise in France and Italy the first universities—organizations of a free and spontaneous growth, dedicated to instruction in the sciences. Attracted by the study of the secular sciences, especially of the law, scholars from every country of Europe flock to the cities of Northern Italy, and gather about eminent instructors. Paris adopts a new philosophy and theology, the so-called Scholastic, which, at that time, was as attractive and intoxicating as any all-embracing speculative system that had ever existed. The aim of this philosophy was a rational interpretation of Holy Scripture, which it endeavored to bring into accordance with human understanding. Nevertheless, the authority of the church remains unquestioned. The universities enjoy her favor and her patronage. Teachers and scholars—more particularly on this side of the Alps—are drawn from the ranks of the clergy; indeed, the majority of them belong to the monastic order. The culture of the nobility also is inseparable from the influence of the church.

Two great intellectual movements, the Renaissance and the Reformation, usher in the modern era. Both exercise a far-reaching influence upon the educational ideal.

The Renaissance, in its very essence, furnishes a marked contrast to the mediæval ideal of life. It is the reaction of the optimistic, secular spirit of life against the supernatural, ascetic ideal of the church. The youthful spirit of the modern races discovers that the philosophy

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and literature of the Greeks and Romans are much better adapted to its present needs than the supernatural doctrines and morality of orthodox Christianity. It is, therefore, with passionate zeal that the modern European races proceed to abolish the ideas and symbols of ancient Christianity and to substitute therefor the forms and symbols of the newly discovered antique world, which they endeavor to apply in literature, language, science, and the arts, and to incorporate in social customs.

The educational ideal which corresponds to this revolution is the development of the individual, with all his natural instincts and gifts,—the development of the subjective and personal life. Thought is no longer fettered by church dogmatism. Narrow social conditions are removed, and give place to the spirit of personal liberty. The individual places his independent judgment against truths bearing the stamp of authority; his personal sentiments and ideas against currently accepted customs. At a later period this spirit of liberty frequently degenerates into unbridled scepticism and libertinism. The desire to carry out their individual will, regardless of consequences, frequently leads strong natures into monstrous profligacy. At the courts of the Italian tyrants—masterfully portrayed in Burckhardt's "History of the Renaissance"—we meet with this type, which has found a somewhat belated admirer in Fr. Nietzsche.

In the third decade of the sixteenth century, the Renaissance, in its triumphal progress through all the countries of Europe, encountered a movement of different origin and of different tendencies,—that movement which emanated from Wittenberg,—the Reformation. The spirit of Luther and his ideal of life were far removed from those of the Renaissance and its followers. Luther was in every sense a man of the people; while the leading spirits of the Renaissance were distinguished by an aristocratic demeanor and worldly views. Nevertheless, both movements for a short time mutually augmented each other, as counter currents occasionally produce a tidal wave. Above all things they mutually served to overthrow the Scholastic system of philosophy and theology. These movements, however, soon parted company and pursued separate paths. Renaissance and humanism—art, science, and culture—flourish only in times of peace: they demand liberty for the upper classes and order for the people. The Reformation, on the other hand, with its doctrines of a universal priesthood and universal perfection, proceeded to overthrow the dominion of the church, the priestly caste, and, with it, monastic sanctity. Appalled, however,

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by the revolutionary uprising of the masses in the Peasants' War, the Reformers established territorial churches under the dominion of secular rulers. The consequence was that the school system, which had ever been connected with the church, was also, like the church, transferred to the care of the state. To sum up the results of this movement, it may be said that the Reformation neither abolished, nor intended to abolish, the old ecclesiastical ideal of education. On the contrary, it rescued this ideal, for the time being, from the acute worldliness of the Renaissance. Furthermore, the Reformation, by breaking down the universal church and transferring her power to the secular authorities, became the principal agent in bringing about that severance of education from the ecclesiastical life which was finally consummated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

As to the first statement, there can be no doubt that the Reformation reëstablished those theological and religious interests which during the sixteenth century had been subordinated to the sciences and the aristocratic culture of the upper classes. Erasmus complains that wherever the Lutheran faith takes hold, the fine arts perish. The Reformation was doubtless hostile to a rationalizing, independent spirit of criticism, such as lived in Erasmus. Luther hated Erasmus; and, when the Protestant court theologians proved that they were frequently more zealous and narrow-minded in demanding subjection to their creed than the supporters of the ancient church themselves, they might well cite Luther as their example. Neither to hesitate nor to vacillate in upholding the true doctrine,—such was the motto of these men.

Among the results of the Reformation may be counted the reaction brought about within the Catholic Church itself. Even Rome severed its association with the Renaissance and with liberalizing rationalism, and once more became conscious of the secret of its power; namely, the government and discipline of its subjects. The Order of Jesuits was established, and soon became the right hand of the church. This Order, both as regards the complete submerging of the individual in the universal, and the subjection of the natural impulses—more particularly of the intellectual—to authority, was more successful than any institution before it. And it was to this Order that, at the end of the sixteenth century, in all Catholic countries, the entire system of education was entrusted.

Taking a general survey of the system of instruction as it existed at the end of this revolutionary century, we may say that the ecclesi-

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astical ideal of education, menaced at the beginning of the century by the advancing Renaissance, with its rationalizing tendencies, was essentially restored in Protestant, as well as Catholic, districts. Everywhere the schools are distinguished by their clerical character. In Catholic countries the teachers' seminaries are Jesuitical institutions: in Protestant countries, also, the conditions are very nearly the same. The schools are generally domiciled in old convents (as in Pforta, Meissen, Maulbronn, etc.). These old convents, now deserted by the monks and converted into schools, have merely changed their inmates; otherwise the conditions are practically the same. Even many of the old ritualistic practices are observed. The conception of the school is identical with the old ecclesiastical "scholæ seminaria ecclesiæ." The whole system of instruction is based on this principle; viz., a thorough grounding in the true doctrine. It is justly the boast of the Reformers that they were the first thoroughly to introduce religious instruction. The study of the ancient languages, the most important branch of instruction, is likewise conducted in the service of the church. Greek is taught as the language of the New Testament; and Latin is the vehicle by means of which the scientific and philosophical training indispensable to the theological profession is supplied. Johannes Sturm, the celebrated rector of the Strasburg school, summed up the educational ideal of the sixteenth century in the following typical formula: "Sapiens atque eloquens pietas." *Pietas* is the substance—the true creed: scientific culture and a logical linguistic schooling are the two attributes indispensable to the scholar, whether he be in the service of the church or of the state.

What has been said of the schools applies also to the universities. They stand in the service of the church, whether Catholic or Protestant: the curriculum merely depends upon the creed. This applies more particularly to the theological and philosophical faculties. A pedagogical philosophy sanctioned by the church has absolute sway, —in Wittenberg and Helmstedt, as well as at Rome and Ingolstadt. Thus we see that the public school, so greatly furthered by the Reformation, is once more completely under the dominion of the church.

(2) In the course of the seventeenth century a new educational ideal,—the Courtly-French,—begins to supersede that of the church. In other words, the ideal of the Renaissance once more begins to assert itself among the upper classes.

This circumstance is due to a change in the social order. The aris-

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tocracy, with the reigning dynasties at its head, once more becomes the ruling class. This change is due to the decline of the church into a civil institution. Catholicism has not recovered from the heavy blow which it received in the sixteenth century. Despite its mighty efforts, it has not regained its former eminent position. In Protestant countries the church has lost her independence entirely; while in Catholic countries the state may be said to be the ruling power. Nor have the citizens been able to maintain the position which they occupied toward the close of the Middle Ages. The cities—more particularly those of Germany—can no longer boast of the high rank by which they were distinguished in the sixteenth century (Nuremberg, Augsburg, Cologne, and Lübeck, for example). The monarchical state, as well as the nobility,—which constitutes a class indispensable to the rulers,—has obtained an ascendency over the cities. The elevation of worthy citizens, scholars, officials, and—at a somewhat later period—poets and money-lenders to the ranks of the nobility is an indication of the prevailing social standard. A man does not attain to social position until he leaves the ranks of the common people, and, by virtue of a title bestowed upon him, enters the order of the nobility.

These changes, political and social, are followed by others of an intellectual nature. The general tendency of the educational movement may be briefly characterized as secularization of education and of the intellectual life. This tendency manifests itself in every department. In that of science, theology and metaphysics are forced farther and farther into the background by mathematics, physics, and the political and social sciences. Since the days of Descartes, Hobbes, and Newton, the reputation of the exact sciences is steadily and rapidly rising. At the same time the emancipation of scientific inquiry from the thraldom of authority and tradition is consummated. Rationalism —the belief in reason—asserts itself, and, in the age of Enlightenment, obtains absolute dominion. The era of the great philosophical systems has come. Descartes and Locke, Leibnitz and Kant, now direct the ideas of mankind, as did once the great theologians.

We observe the same secularization in the fields of art and literature. The royal courts supersede the church as patrons of the arts. The architect of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries builds castles instead of churches and town-halls. The artist, who formerly adorned the altars with pictures of the Passion and of the Saints, now furnishes portraits of the nobility, or devotes himself to the representation of pagan gods and goddesses, with and without apparel. The chase, the

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battle, marine scenes, and landscapes,—all are legitimate subjects for his brush. In the same manner, music and poetry are called into the service of the royal theatres and opera-houses.

All these changes are clearly discernible in the new ideal of education, whose brilliant advent takes place in the second half of the seventeenth century. Its general character is well expressed by the term, "galant-homme." The "sapiens atque eloquens pietas" is superseded by the culture of the perfect cavalier. He has all the qualities which are demanded of a useful and agreeable member of the court. He possesses courtesy and perfect manners,—*conduite*, and *savoir vivre*,—all the arts and accomplishments; he rides and fences, dances and vaults, plays ball and the lute; he is master of French, and sometimes also of Italian. His equipment is completed by a course in the modern sciences, such as mathematics and physics (with fortification and pyrotechnics); hydraulics and mechanical engineering; geography, statistics, heraldry, history of the state, and jurisprudence. Whoever possesses all these requirements is a finished gentleman, eligible alike to courtly, military, and civil service.

Germany, which could boast of a greater number of courts than any other country, now creates a new order of colleges, the so-called *Ritterakademien*, to meet the requirements of the new education. These academies, as a rule, were established at some centre of royalty (Cassel, Wolfenbüttel, Hildburghausen, etc.), and generally stood in close relation to the court itself, in order that the sons of the native princes and the nobility generally might have the benefit of an education better adapted to their needs than that of the old monastic institutions.

The universities also follow the current of the times. The study of law advances rapidly at the expense of theology, and, at the first modern universities, Halle and Göttingen, attains a positive supremacy. It furnishes the nobility with the training requisite for their political position. The costume of the court displaces the clerical garb. Distinguished professors are elevated to the ranks of the nobility, or receive titles. The student imitates the cavalier: the sword and the duel qualify him for the upper ranks. A circumstance of still greater importance is the emancipation of collegiate education, and the establishment of the principle of educational liberty. It is the boast of the University of Halle that it was the first to acquire the *libertas philosophandi*. Here modern philosophy first supersedes the Aristotelian. Christian Wolf was the first who succeeded in reducing modern thought

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to a complete and regular pedagogical system. The other sciences, more particularly theology, soon followed this example. Rationalistic dogmatism and historical criticism likewise first gained a footing in the University of Halle.

The schools also join the general movement. The *Gelehrtenschulen* (Latin Schools) begin to take up the study of the German and French languages, the elements of mathematics and physics, as well as history and geography. In the common schools, also, the clerical spirit is compelled to give way to the secular. To furnish the state with useful subjects is now the aim. A thorough schooling is beginning to be regarded as a matter of great economical importance; consequently, all means are employed to develop the efficiency of the pupil in every direction.

(3) About the middle of the eighteenth century the Courtly-French ideal of education begins to wane: a new educational ideal rises in the firmament, and attains the meridian toward the close of that century. This revolution is again due to changes in the social order. Democracy is advancing; the prestige of the nobility is declining. The modern state dissolves its union with the feudal territorial system, and creates an extensive official system, in which merit and efficiency are stronger credentials than nobility of birth. In the social and intellectual spheres, also, democracy is in the ascendant. The cities have gradually recovered from the devastation of the Thirty Years' War, and arrived at a moderate degree of prosperity. Above all, it is in the departments of science and literature that the masses once more come to the front. Klopstock, Gellert, Lessing, Herder, Winckelmann, Kant, Fichte, Goethe, and Schiller,—all spring from the lower and middle ranks of life: they represent the ideas of the people, and introduce them into literature. The popular drama and the novel appear. The masses, as it were, once more become conscious of their power. It is a noteworthy fact that this movement is coincident with the decline of French, and the rise of English, prestige. Among the nations of Europe, England was the land of the commons; France, the land of the court and the nobility. From the third decade of the eighteenth century forward, English thought is carried into France; Voltaire and Montesquieu being its most important propagators. At a somewhat later period, Germany, through its new popular literature, joins the movement. Shakespeare becomes celebrated; French classicism is overthrown; Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hume are read and translated. And with the English, the Greek classics—allies of the popular

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spirit in its struggle against the Courtly-French ideal—come to the front. From the very outset, democracy and the new humanistic spirit are coöperative powers.

The educational ideal of this new epoch may be briefly expressed by the term, "humanistic education." Herder is the first great preacher of this new movement, the aim of which is the development of man, with all his native faculties. The ideal of the new education is a human being whose faculties enable him to form a clear and definite conception of the actual world; who, by virtue of his will, is able to recognize and follow his individual bent; whose imagination and finer emotions are trained to the perception of the beautiful and the heroic. This is a man in the full sense of the word: this is true humanistic culture.

The new educational ideal is determined by the view of life of the new humanism,—a view based upon the contemplation of the Greeks, with their perfect realization of the human idea and their admirable representation of the human type. In Greece, Nature carried out her intentions as regards human development with absolute completeness; and this is true not merely of the development of the human form, as typified in the antique sculptures, but also as regards the cultivation of the human mind; a fact to which the poetry and philosophy of the Greeks bear testimony. The demands of this second, the Protestant-Hellenic-democratic, Renaissance may be summed up in the motto, "Educate thyself according to Greek standards!" Here we have Greek humanity instead of French gallantry; a free and humane conception of human affairs instead of a courtly, conventional one; a liberal education instead of conventional training.

The educational institution which the nineteenth century has established to meet the demands of this ideal, is the humanistic gymnasium (the Latin High School of Germany). Its object is the development of all the faculties in every possible direction. To this end, a study of the ancient languages is regarded as of the utmost importance; for, by cultivating the Greek and Roman languages and literatures, we acquire skill in all mental operations. The grammar assists us greatly in formulating our ideas; the classical poets awaken our sense of the æsthetic, and cultivate a taste for beauty and simplicity; the study of the historical and philosophical writers broadens our horizon, fills us with noble sentiments, and furnishes a historical basis for the proper conception of the present. The study of mathematics ranks next in importance, and also furnishes an excellent training to the faculties. The

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new era despises the utilitarian and encyclopedic attainments so highly valued by the previous epoch. True human culture, and not utility, is its aim. It is characteristic of ignoble souls to appreciate only what is absolutely utilitarian, and to overlook entirely the importance of a free, beautiful, and perfect culture of the inner life.

The new education is distinctively democratic. It is founded upon the idea of scholarship as preserved in the old institutions of learning, —upon *humaniora* and not upon *gallantiora*, as Herder so aptly expresses it. The institution in which the new education is disseminated is also democratic. The gymnasium has a pronounced tendency toward social equality. In other words, the gymnasium, by reason of its extended course and its final examination for the university, has once more compelled the aristocracy to attend the common schools. The sons of the nobility, who during the sixteenth century had everywhere attended the Latin schools, were during the two following centuries entrusted to the care of private tutors, or were sent to the *Ritterakademien* in order to receive a preparatory training for the university course. These academies have entirely disappeared during the present century; and we now know them only by name. W. von Humboldt, the founder of the Prussian gymnasium, so desired it. He says: "I cannot see the advantages of a separate education for the nobility." The system of private instruction (*Hofmeistertum*) has also entirely disappeared. We now find the sons of the nobility, even the princes of the reigning houses, in the gymnasium. The curriculum has been so greatly augmented that private instructors are no longer able to supply an equivalent education.

In addition to the above, may be mentioned the examination for the university (*Abiturientenexamen*), which is also a democratic institution. None may be admitted to the university who has not complied with the requirements of the state examination. The meaning of this is, that only an *élite*, an intellectual aristocracy, may enter the university and thereby gain admission to the various professions under governmental control. In this way an end was put to that system of patronage which, regardless of individual endowment or scientific training, secured to the sons of the nobility the highest offices in the state. It is, therefore, not astonishing that the old privileged classes were inclined to regard the gymnasium with disfavor.

In the universities, also, the anti-aristocratic tendency manifests itself. Both professors and students are representatives of national and liberal ideas. I mention only the institution of the *Burschenschaft*

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(one of the two great Orders of student societies in Germany), and its determined opposition to exclusiveness. It is not astonishing that the universities were feared and hated by all the Austrian and Prussian politicians of the Restoration epoch, whose sphere of influence and personal interests, so closely identified with the small principalities and petty courts, the national state now threatened to disturb.

The same educational ideal was carried by Pestalozzi and his disciples into the common schools, with the difference that the classical languages were not taught in these. In every other respect the goal was the same: Systematic education instead of mechanical memorization; independent mental activity instead of a mere mechanical recitation. The development of all the faculties of man,—particularly of independent judgment,—in contrast to a mere training for the church or a narrow social circle, is now the aim; and, in order that it may be realized, exercises in observation and logical reasoning are given. "Man as a moral being is the sole object; and it is criminal to employ him as a means to serve selfish aims." Such was the doctrine of the time, as formulated by Kant.

FRIEDRICH PAULSEN.

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HAVE AMERICANS ANY SOCIAL STANDARDS?

In speaking of society, I do not mean the gayly fashionable set, the froth that floats on the topmost wave in every community, but the social world as distinct from the business, political, or intellectual world. Society in this broad sense means the interchange of courtesies, the giving and receiving of hospitality. With all its imperfections, it is, as Howells says, the nearest approach to the ideal life of anything we have. We should not rail at it even when we see it complicated by expensive entertainments or brutalized by strivings after precedence.

Is it possible in a republican country to have any social standards? The conditions seem to forbid it. In Europe the first thing that one notices—in countries except those under despotic governments with their nihilistic reactions—is the repose that pervades the social fabric. People are born to certain conditions; they never expect to attain any others; and, except in the case of volcanic genius, they are satisfied. Their mode of life has been settled for them by the traditions of centuries. Some of the unlovely features of republican society are thus unknown. There is no putting on of style, no striving to keep up appearances, no envy of the prosperous neighbor, no reading of books of etiquette. A fixed classification prevents all this.

To an American the foreign political order, the division into ranks, seems stifling. In the words of that typical Yankee, *Sam Lawson*, "It is a good deal like a pile of sheepskins; only the top one lies light." But in the social world the effect is somewhat different. The very essence of good breeding is serenity. Princes could not have their manners, were it not for their assured position. The classes are loyal, each to its own members. Nature may be crucified sometimes, because of these artificial divisions; but the social world has at least the appearance of stability, which is essential to its finest development.

In a republican country all these conditions are changed. The very essence of republicanism, as commonly understood, is that you are as good as your neighbor. As no community has yet reached that industrial condition which insures an equal division of money, this doctrine means, in the expressive vernacular, that everybody has got to hustle.

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With people up to-day and down to-morrow, society is as unstable as the sea. The competition of American life has never been more happily illustrated than in the words of a very native American poet:—

"You see that rooster on the fence;
Just hear him crow!
His satisfaction is immense,
His self-possession is intense,
His lusty lungs give evidence
That this is so.

Another rooster sees him there
And hears him crow.
With flapping wings he cleaves the air;
The fence top is too small to share,
And so they fight and scratch and tear,
And down they go."

Constant motion is a good thing in many ways; it prevents stagnation and freezing: but when applied to the social world, we see, as it were, uneasy particles in a boiling pot; and the scum rises. Quiet and repose and time are necessary for each component to find its proper place; and then the cream comes to the top.

Despite the popular opinion, and notwithstanding the increase of enormous individual fortunes, I believe that this country is constantly growing more democratic. The changes in social standards show this. During the first half of this century the two most marked factors in national life were the New-England and the Southern influences. The Middle West was passing through the pioneer stage; the Far West was practically non-existent, though the horizon of California was beginning to show a golden edge. New York had not then attained its present financial importance; and, though distinctive by reason of its Dutch element, it was far from being dominant. The New-England and the Southern populations were largely of English descent and tradition. At that time there had been no great infusions of foreign blood; and though certain sections were modified by the French Huguenots, the Germans, the Scotch, the Irish, and the Louisianian French, the prevailing tone was English.

The society developed in these two sections was markedly unlike, owing to the difference in climate and the substratum of negro population in the South. The New Englanders had habits of thrift and frugality; they grew rich slowly; they did their own work, except when their establishments were large enough to keep hired help, not "serv-

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ants," they waited on themselves; they showed a keen intellectual hunger, which made their region the literary and educational centre of the country; they were in bonds to the Puritan Sabbath; they talked of God and the future life; but they matched their ninepences.

The Southerners led the life of fox-hunting English squires. They had the Anglo-Saxon love of the open air; and the climate determined that their industries should be agricultural: hence they built their picturesque mansions on the plantations, not in their small and widely separated cities. The institution of slavery enabled them to exercise an unbounded hospitality, unknown and impossible in the North. In a way they followed English traditions more closely than their New-England compeers. The aristocratic church in the South was the Anglican. When estates were not large enough to provide for all the sons, the younger ones were sent into the army or navy. The bright ones with a gift for oratory went into politics by way of the law.

The social life developed under these conditions had a charm—if one could forget the dark incongruity beneath, always threatening—that no other part of our country has ever afforded. Southern housekeeping was shiftless in Northern eyes; but there was rare good cooking in some of those old kitchens, and free-hearted hospitality and constant merry-making in the dining- and drawing-rooms. The men had leisure; and there was no disproportion of the sexes, which gives so dreary an effect to many a New-England ballroom. Courtship and early marriage were the order of the day; and every girl had dozens of suitors.

Notwithstanding the awful moral deterioration, the ill wrought by slavery on the masters, some lovely traits of character were developed by the Southern life,—especially among the women. The South never had a literature till after everything else had been submerged. Even since the War the section has not been fully exploited; though the Southern States can perhaps claim at the present time a larger number of authors of excellent short stories than any other portion of the country. The old-time chivalry and generosity; the charm of manner; the upholding of ancient traditions; the cherishing of honest, if mistaken, ideals; the dignity and patience under losses;—all these qualities, set in the beautiful country life, with the tragedy of slavery either present or past, afford an unsurpassed field for literature. With all his absurdities, where is there a more lovable character than Hopkinson Smith's *Col. Carter of Cartersville?* Thomas Nelson Page, Ruth McEnery Stuart, Grace King, Richard Malcolm Johnston, and occasionally Constance Fenimore Woolson, though of New-Hampshire birth, and Mrs.

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Burton Harrison, not to mention scores of others, have shown us different phases of Southern life; and the most promising of our novelists writes from Kentucky.

In the days of which I am speaking, before telegraphs and railways had welded every portion of the country together, the North and the South were antagonistic, as communities of different tastes, not well acquainted, must be. The common meeting-grounds of these opposing forces were: first, Washington; second, the watering-places, so-called,—summer resorts with hotels,—to which fashionable people then flocked; and third, to some extent, the Northern schools and colleges. In each of these places the South was socially dominant.

It was natural that the seat of government should fall under Southern influence. Before the War nine of the fifteen presidents, including every one who had served two terms, belonged either by birth or by residence to the South. The Southerners took an excessive interest in politics, not only from lack of other occupations, but in order to preserve their peculiar institution; and the capital itself, from its location, favored Southern customs.

From every point of view Washington is undoubtedly a much finer city now than it was forty years ago; but there was a certain elegance about it in the *ante bellum* days, which makes it possible for us to understand how horror-stricken the leaders of the old régime were when the Lincolns and their backwoods followers appeared. The turmoil of war brought the rabble to the front. All was confusion and chaos; old traditions were uprooted; crude and uncouth manners were found in high places; people with wrought-silver wine-coasters, brocades imported from England in the days of the Georges, and furniture and china contemporary with the French kings, felt that the era of shoddy had indeed set in.

In the other places, the summer resorts and the schools, the Southerners were not usually in the majority before the War; but they easily held social sway. In those days the Southerners who travelled all had money, which they spent freely. They were used to a multiplicity of servants; and they carried their servants with them—something almost unheard of in the North. The slave-owners had personal charm, usually personal beauty; and their long habit of entertaining made them adepts in the art of pleasing. Their hot blood and imperious tempers only gave them an additional fascination; and the ever-felt presence of their peculiar institution lent to their lives the romance which belongs to all mediæval survivals. However much

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the cold, pale-blooded, rational Northerners may have disapproved of certain phases of character and modes of life of their brilliant congeners of the cotton States, they regarded them with interest, and looked upon them socially with awe.

The War wrecked the South. Stripped of their money and negroes, their beautiful homes desolate, nothing left but stacks of blackened bricks overlooking deserted fields, the flower of their manhood dead, and the means of livelihood of all taken away, the Southerners learned the lessons of adversity. Pomp and vainglory, worldly circumstance and social precedence,—all were swept away. Nothing was left but the virtues which flourished in spite of slavery, and the new blessings which spring up from a burned land. The South can never again be what it was, and—the Southerners are as glad of it as we.

The War was chief among the agencies which brought about the social changes of the last half-century; but other means, hardly less far-reaching, have been the development of the West, with its enormous natural resources, the progress of mechanical invention, the facilities for transportation and communication which have drawn all parts of our immense territory into intimate relations with each other, the movement of the population from the country to the cities, and, growing out of all these allied causes, the opportunity to make great fortunes quickly. All these elements are part of the romance of a new country developing under democratic conditions; but every one of them tends to disturb the social balance. The result is that the average American is helpless in the matter of social judgments. Middle-aged people, usually of the female sex,—for women manage society in this country,—are in a state of timid anxiety about what they shall eat, how they shall act, what they shall wear, whom they shall associate with, and where they shall go in the summer. Everything is so different now from the way in which they were brought up.

Of course we are not all parvenus in this country. There are some judicious minds and dignified and well-balanced characters who work out these problems for themselves; taking pride in continuing the habits of their ancestors, and making such necessary adjustments to modern conditions as time inevitably compels. Such people do not consult books of etiquette to know when, where, how, and upon whom to leave their visiting-cards; they are not continually casting furtive glances at their neighbors' domestic arrangements to see if they themselves are keeping up with the procession; nor do they obtain their social information from the Sunday papers. The matters that belong

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to our social life are not trivial;—always remembering that I mean society in the broad sense. How we live shows what we are living for. The way a person spends his leisure, and the companions he chooses, give a much juster indication of his character than the habits and associates of his working-hours.

Foreigners are always puzzled by our lack of social standards. Our country is so vast and complex that they never see it whole. They are always trying to find out who sets the pace for American life; and they can discover no order of precedence, no rank in occupation, no dominant city. We have been gradually working into this state of affairs. We were not democratic when the Declaration of Independence was signed, nor when Washington took the oath as President.

The early settlers brought the habits of their native country with them. There were marked differences in station among the dwellers along the Atlantic seaboard during the eighteenth century. Official position had a rank then which it has almost entirely lost. The colonial governors were magnates indeed. They wore scarlet broadcloth, powdered wigs, dress swords, and travelled in coaches with outriders. The smallest official title had dignity. There was a time in the first decade of this century when to be in the East-India trade was to be a king. That was the period during which were built the beautiful three-story mansions, with their carved mantel-pieces and balustrades, at Portsmouth, Salem, Newport, and the other coast towns. The towns which have grown rapidly and made big cities of themselves, like Boston, have lost the fine old houses; but they keep some of the traditions.

The clergy had a social power, now almost vanished. The colonists were determined to do away with one form of oppression by having no established church; and then in New England they caused the minister to be settled by the town, and persecuted and exiled all the independent thinkers. Mrs. Stowe says in "Old Town Folks" that *Parson Lothrop's* wife married him because after the Revolution there were no titles in this country, and a minister corresponded most nearly in rank to the lords and bishops she had left at home. She was always called "*Lady*" *Lothrop*; many women receiving this courtesy title in her day.

In the last century, the students of Harvard College were catalogued according to the rank of their parents. John Adams, afterward President, did not come very high in the list; and there are people now living who can remember hearing very old ladies speak of him as "that

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cobbler's son." At this period there was a custom known as "dignifying the meeting-house," which meant the assigning of the pews according to the rank of the occupants.

We have changed all that. The President wears the same kind of clothes as the dry-goods clerk; and his carriage is inconspicuous. Few political offices command great social respect; for the men who fill them represent all degrees, both positive and negative, of civilization, education, and morals. Mr. Bryce tells of the mirth that was excited at Wellesley College when a visiting foreigner innocently inquired, "I suppose your students come from the best families in this country, —daughters of Congressmen and the like?" In some of the large cities, to be an alderman is tantamount to being socially branded.

In other countries, the army and the navy rank next to the court. In America, the officers are so few in number and so scattered that they hardly count as a social factor. The average millionaire probably regards them as did *Horace Chase*, in Miss Woolson's novel of that name, when he offered his brother-in-law a business position with the remark, "That ought to be a pretty good salary for a naval man."

Culture will always command respect among its devotees; and a college president is still held in some esteem, even by his own undergraduates. Even where the faculty consists only of "Mrs. Johnson and myself," the professors have some prestige. In certain cities, notably Boston, literary people and others of intellectual habits are actually considered to belong in the best society; and in Baltimore a position at Johns Hopkins entitles one to a place in the social directory.

There is no socially dominant city in this country. Foreigners naturally look to the national capital for something resembling their own courts; but they do not find it. The population of Washington is essentially a floating one,—office-holders, department clerks, and tourists, with a colored substratum. Some life positions, such as a justiceship in the Supreme Court, give a certain dignity; but the politicians —most of them—are "drest in a little brief authority." Like the throngs at the Columbian Exposition, they come from everywhere and goodness knows where. They are truly a representative crowd. Rarely from the large cities, they bring the atmosphere of the plains, the mountains, and the woods along with the training acquired in the mine, the field, the factory, the office, and the court-room. They do not pretend to be the best the country affords; but they are samples of their sections, which is what we ought to desire in a government by the people.

Washington is gloriously American. Not even the numbers of

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wealthy idlers who make it their winter home, enormously increasing the scale of living, can destroy its democratic character. Every dweller within the city may be in society, if he so choose. Neither color, race, occupation, nor previous or present condition of servitude debars any citizen from paying his respects to all the officials at their public receptions, from the President down to the last attaché of a bureau. Stories have been told of the wife of a secretary of state,—at the time when those officers returned calls in person,—finding one of her recent guests toiling at the washboard. Other enterprising visitors of a little different social scale are said to pay for breakfast only at their boarding-places, because they can pick up the rest of their refreshments during their daily round of calls.

Many people have the idea that the size of a city determines its social importance, and that New York sets the standard of living for the rest of the country. It is amusing to hear certain Americans use the word "provincial." In a recent biography of an eminent American man of letters, the writer, himself a Bostonian, took particular pains to deplore the fact that his subject's fine humor and social ability were limited by being confined to such a little out-of-the-way town as Boston. Where do the despisers of the provincial consider the world's capital to be? Is it London, Paris, Pekin, or—San Francisco? Civilization has travelled round the circle. Perhaps we may seek it at the Equator or the North Pole? As Col. Higginson says, a cosmopolitan is one who is at home even in his own country. Whoever thinks that fine society or noted people are limited to big cities has forgotten that Athens, Florence, Weimar, and Concord, Massachusetts, were not large towns. The influences emanating from these places are perhaps as enduring as those that have come from Babylon, Rome, or Chicago. The village of Stratford-on-Avon was good enough for Shakespeare to be born in.

In America especially, one who knows the country well knows that all its good things are widely distributed; otherwise, we could not have a republic. One who is seeking the really choice and distinctive flavor of American society can find it in some of the refined New-England villages, with their high standards and quiet ways and not narrow outlook on the world—a place like Northampton, Massachusetts, years ago; or he may go to some of the old seaport towns, with their aristocratic traditions, where the same families have lived for more than two hundred years on lands deeded to them by the Indians; or he may look for it in the college communities, with their atmosphere of learning,

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their venerable buildings,—"scholar factories," in Lowell's phrase,—and the fresh young life that beats about them, drawn from every portion of the country; or he may visit the State capitals, rarely the largest cities in their respective States, and find miniature Washingtons, with a more substantial population and perhaps a political history that will better bear investigation. If he would hear of gayety, he is fortunate if he have friends in a certain South-Carolinian city, where an annual ball has been given by the same circle of people and their descendants for over a century, of which no public mention has ever been made; nor have the names of the guests ever got into the newspapers. What is New York, with her most fashionable balls, compared to this?

To those minds, whether American or foreign, who regard New York as socially preëminent, the city stands simply for the largest collection of great fortunes in this country. George William Curtis characterized its summer annex, modern Newport, as the place where the people were engaged in seeing who could throw the largest amount of money farthest out into the sea. New York is no mushroom city; yet few people—least of all, New-Yorkers themselves—ever think of its history. Perhaps with good reason, for the old landmarks and the long-resident families are feeble to withstand the great waves of wealth rolling in upon them.

The fact that New York has become the publishing centre of the country has helped its aggrandizement more than anything else. The great publishing firms, whether of books or magazines, and the great newspaper establishments are located there. Society stories, both the fictitious ones of literature and the real ones of the reporters, have their scenes laid along a narrow area extending from Washington Square to the northern limit of Central Park. Accounts of private balls are telegraphed across the water as if they were matters of national importance.

I have no quarrel with the newspapers: they do their work much more thoroughly and admirably than the old-fashioned sewing-circle, tavern bar-room, or corner grocery. If they would only go a little deeper and show the real nature of the people and the "functions" they describe, the rural mind would perceive that all men are brothers, and that there is no occasion for envy or malice. As it is, the newspaper notoriety given to the affairs of the rich, while it satisfies the craving for romance in the minds of the toilers, undoubtedly contributes in no small degree to the discontent prevailing among certain portions of our people. Years ago, before the rise of so many wealthy

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cities had made the social entertainments at Washington appear less splendid, there were so many complaints, even shrieks, against the corruption and extravagance at the national capital that Gail Hamilton felt it incumbent upon herself to write an article on "The Display of Washington Society Considered as the Origin of the Evil in the Universe." Her satire was effective, or else time has remedied the matter; for the ministers now pray for New York.

It seems strange that intelligent people do not know that the quickest way to extinguish flaunting wealth is not to notice it. Of course well-bred men and women have no interest in the social affairs of people with whom they are unacquainted; but the circulation of the New-York press reports shows that the concerns of Fifth Avenue must find readers among all classes, from Julian Ralph's acquaintances of the Battery and the Bowery to Owen Wister's cowboys—to say nothing of the thousands of well-to-do people in the smaller cities and towns, who might be supposed to have some social life of their own.

But we need not worry about New York's pretended or alleged social dominance, so long as there is Chicago. We do not know what other worlds may have to show; but Chicago is the most remarkable thing on this planet. Is there a prize of any sort going? Chicago comes along with easy swing and grasps it. Though certain invidious minds may point out that Chicago has as yet shown no overweening desire for culture, she is certainly not behind New York in this respect; and there is no doubt, as Charles Dudley Warner says, that when Chicago once takes hold of culture, she will make it hum. Chicago is the only city in the country with room enough—the only city with her suburbs inside. It has already been prophesied that Chicago is the natural newspaper centre of the country; and where the newspapers are biggest, there lies the heart of things.

It is entirely possible that within the next century Chicago may draw the national capital unto herself. A situation that was appropriate enough for the original Thirteen States is out of date now with an empire west of the Mississippi. Probably the only things that Chicago cannot grasp are Bunker Hill and Plymouth Rock; for Massachusetts institutions are wonderfully tenacious. And yet, such are the changes wrought by mechanical invention, who can say but in time even Chicago may have rivals.

If America can have no social standards because it has no order of precedence, no rank in occupation, no dominant city, it necessarily follows that, unless restrained by culture, the Republic must set inordinate

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value on externals, the showy, the obvious, the success of the hour. It is for this reason that the great fortunes which have accumulated with surprising rapidity in recent years have wrought such havoc in our social life. It requires a very well seasoned mind and character to withstand the sudden onslaught of wealth. Our economic and industrial conditions are such that money seems to have a tendency to gather itself into heaps; breeding corruption for the owners, while the surrounding area suffers from leanness.

The millionaires themselves often are not to blame for their fortunes: they are the product of the times. One of the most touching pictures of recent years is that shown in Mr. Warner's "A Little Journey in the World." The heroine, *Margaret*, a lovely girl, brought up in the high standards of an old, refined New-England town, makes a love-match with a New-York speculator who, later, achieves dazzling success. Her powerlessness to prevent the wrong she feels he is doing, the gradual hardening of her nature under worldly influences till she is finally buried under an avalanche of gold, are faithfully described.

The opportunity for rapid financial advancement in America, almost of necessity, ruptures family ties and sunders old associations. In foreign countries, where rank is acknowledged, the members of a house have a certain clanship; the allegiance and claims even of remote cousins being recognized. In America the president of a great railroad or an ambassador to one of the European Powers may have nieces who are village dressmakers. A plutocrat living in a house finer than some foreign palaces perhaps occasionally visits a sister whose days are spent on a remote farm where the evening relaxation is milking the cows. Two daughters of the same parents, born and reared alike, may marry: one, a man who becomes a leader in the stock exchange, the other, a street-car conductor. There are professors in our leading colleges, where culture is almost a disease, whose fathers are humble hand-workers. Anyone who thinks that the foregoing instances are exceptional does not know American society. It is but just to say that American good-nature does much toward bridging the chasms which republican opportunities make in worldly circumstances; and that in most cases it is the fault of the poor as often as the misfortune of the rich that old ties are broken.

The circumstances of earning money and the circumstances of spending it are wide apart. Unless one is a miser or a spendthrift, he will not live in the days of his riches as he does in the days of his poverty. People who are not troubled about their past, who have no scruples

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about ignoring the hand that fed them or the house that sheltered them, can jump from overalls to dress-coats without much trouble. These are they who chatter most glibly about society conventions, who bring home from Europe a brand-new set of clothes, manners, and phrases. I confess that I sympathize with the tough-grained old American stock that fights for its birthright, even to the extent of wearing shirt-sleeves as a house negligée, and only surrenders inch by inch the ways of its fathers.

I can think of two cases in point. An aged and wealthy judge, learned not only in law, but in literature, resolved to spend some part of his well-earned leisure in European travel. His tour was made miserable by the courses of a Continental dinner. Like his contemporaries at home, he had been brought up to think that nothing looked so well on the table as something to eat. "They won't give me my meat and potato together," growled the old judge; and he actually wasted time in arguing with the waiters and lodging complaints with the hotel authorities. An American railway magnate, wishing to attend a theatre in London, was told that no gentleman could be admitted there unless he wore what Mark Twain calls a "steel-pen coat." This dignified patriot declined to surrender his early habits. He was accustomed to wear the finest of broadcloth, but his "meeting" clothes were his best; and any place where his Sunday suit could not go would not be graced by his presence.

The present generation, which has seen the evening dinner and the dress-coat introduced into our large cities, probably finds nothing in these recitals but food for mirth; but it seems otherwise to me. Both these men were graduates of a fresh-water college, somewhat noted for the number of its distinguished alumni. They had been brought up on New-England farms, and had seen their mothers do their own washing. They had eaten pork and parsnips in the spring and boiled beef and cabbage in the fall, set on in one huge platter. Those things were associated with the influences that shaped their career, with the glorious privileges of the Republic. It was probably some dim feeling of this sort, and not a foolish hostility to established usage, that made them stand on their American customs. Manners, to their minds, had some connection with principles.

The very essence of snobbery is to disown one's antecedents, to kick down the props by which one has risen. I would rather see the other extreme,—sturdy citizens who, when they are among the Romans, do as the Bostonians do. I do not mourn over people of means who are in no haste to introduce the evening dinner into their respective

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towns. Of course, if we look at the matter historically, we know that not all the nation has always dined at noon. Washington used to give state dinners at four o'clock; and the afternoon dinner at two or three o'clock was the highest fashion in Boston until after the Rebellion. It is another sign of the democracy of the times that in cities the principal meal now comes after working-hours. Nothing is so well calculated to make divisions in society, to separate the business men from the people of leisure, as dinner midway in the afternoon. Except for the cooks, the evening dinner is convenient for the veriest toiler.

The dress-coat, viewed in the eye of reason, is no shirt of Nessus. It is no more expensive than a garment of some other cut; it remains in style for years, except for those who wish to follow every curve of the fashion; and its use does not mark nearly so great a social departure as did the change from knee-breeches and silk stockings to plain trousers. And yet I have a sort of fellow-feeling for those descendants of the Pilgrims who vigorously rebel against this sort of attire, who will put it on when only absolutely compelled. It is associated in their minds with late hours, expensive entertainments, and all sorts of elaborate ceremonial, which, to use the language of one of the heroines of "Sentimental Tommy," "are words with which we have no concern."

We have survived many social changes. We are not now taught to eat with our knives; though any well-bred old lady will tell you that that was the custom fifty years ago. In these days even some of our Italian laborers have forks; and yet we are more, not less, democratic than in the early half of our century. It is possible—in some places—to get as appetizing a meal on the Pacific as on the Atlantic coast: yet the great West retains the exuberance of youth; and, except when it copies the manners of the rich and great with a vengeance, it still looks down upon the effete aristocracy of Europe. Everybody in the country rides a bicycle, and everybody belongs to a club,—those two great levellers of these latter days.

If we, as republicans, have no social standards, it is because we have abjured those which are associated with some of the forms of mediæval oppression, and have not yet arrived at a degree of culture and dignity which enables us to establish standards of our own. But as a democracy, if it be permanent, must be ever working toward that state of ideal justice which will distribute the really good things of life impartially among all its members, we may hope that the time will come when America shall have social standards because everybody will be in society.

FRANCES M. ABBOTT.

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WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.

THERE is no danger, in our day, of provoking the wrath or the ridicule of the literary critic by a just estimate of the influence of Wordsworth's poetry. He has been weighed in the balances; and the verdict of posterity is: "Not wanting." The poet's disciples will not, therefore, allow any unfair criticism to go unchallenged. I wish simply to point out *how* the great poet has made this world seem more beautiful to me than it was before I studied his works.

Many readers have thought Wordsworth to be dull and heavy, and that these defects are unpardonable in a poet. It is true that his poetry is not uniformly great and attractive, and that much of what he wrote is tame. No writer could yield so much wheat and not have some chaff with it. No poet could write a long poem like "The Excursion" or "The Prelude," and be brilliant in every line. Even Homer sometimes nods. Shakespeare does not always reach the same heights; and I venture to say that Byron, who sneered so often at Wordsworth, flies very low in more than one of his poems. Many of those who do not consider Wordsworth profitable reading belong to a class that is "incapable of a feeling of poetry"; and, without the power to appreciate a poet, it is not easy to derive any pleasure or help from him.

Wordsworth is a priest and worshipper of Nature. If we recollect that the poet's life was a life of contemplation, it would be strange if his readers did not derive the calm pleasure which brief sketches and beautiful pictures of a rural landscape yield. He writes often of the Force of Nature as if that were the only living soul of the world; of "a motion and a spirit that impels all thinking things." In the "Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey" we find the germs of pantheism; and we are in doubt as to his theology:—

> "And I have felt
> A presence that disturbs me with the joy
> Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean, and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:

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A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things."

In these lines he is looking "into the life of things"; and then "the light of setting suns, and the round ocean, and the living air, and the blue sky, and the mind of man" become the abode of "a motion and a spirit." But, however vague this force appears to the reader, when he turns to the "Ecclesiastical Sonnets," he will perceive a greater force, another than that of nature, a living personal soul,—thus proving that the poet was not a pantheist:—

"To kneeling worshippers no earthly floor
Gives holier invitation than the deck
Of a storm-shattered vessel saved from wreck
(When all that man could do avail'd no more)
By Him who raised the tempest and restrains;
Happy the crew who this have felt, and pour
Forth for His mercy, as the Church ordains,
Solemn thanksgiving. Nor will *they* implore
In vain who, for a rightful cause, give breath
To words the Church prescribes, aiding the lip
For the heart's sake, ere ship with hostile ship
Encounters, armed for work of pain and death.
Suppliants! the God to whom your cause ye trust
Will listen, and ye know that He is just."

John Ruskin calls Wordsworth the "keenest-eyed" of all modern poets. He who loves landscape-painting loves Wordsworth, and he who has read "The Prelude" and "The Excursion" has probably felt the divine power of a chaste imagination, the all-absorbing penetration of a well-balanced mind:—

"So fair, so sweet, withal so sensitive,
Would that the little flowers were born to live,
Conscious of half the pleasure which they give;

That to this mountain daisy's self were known
The beauty of its star-shaped shadow, thrown
On the smooth surface of this naked stone!"

This is "foreground painting. There is no mistake about it. Daisy and shadow and stone-texture and all."

The great poets are very fond of the early hours of the day—in poetry. The dawn charms the fancy. Wordsworth has described the *consecrating* effects of the early morn:—

"What soul was his, when, from the naked top
Of some bold headland, he beheld the sun

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Rise up, and bathe the world in light! He look'd—
Ocean and Earth, the solid frame of Earth
And Ocean's liquid mass, beneath him lay
In gladness and deep joy.—The clouds were touch'd,
And in their silent faces did he read
Unutterable love: Sound needed none,
Nor any voice of joy; his spirit drank
The spectacle; sensation, soul, and form
All melted into him; They swallowed up
His animal being; In them did he live,
And by them did he live; They were his life.
In such access of mind, in such high hour
Of visitation from the Living God.
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired;
No thanks he breathed, he proffered no request:
Rapt into still communion that transcends
The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
His mind was a thanksgiving to the Power
That made him; it was blessedness and love!"

When the world is yet asleep and not a solitary warbler disturbs the slumbers of the grove, and the sun comes rolling over the distant hills with the hopes and disappointments of a new day hidden beneath his fiery vesture, these words of the poet suggest to the thoughtful man the sacredness of life, and the worth of a "still communion" that transcends prayer and praise.

I will now quote the beautiful lines on the daffodils which the poet saw when with his sister on the Lake of Ullswater, to illustrate the truth that he who has felt Nature in her loveliness has gained something that will ever be a pleasant remembrance. The man whose genius makes the humblest life happier by recollections of the green meadow, and of the stream that murmurs the secrets of the mountains in our ears, is our friend. The margin of the lake was fringed for a long distance with daffodils:—

"Continuous as the stars that shine
And twinkle on the milky way,
They stretched in never-ending line
Along the margin of a bay:
Ten thousand saw I at a glance,
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.

The waves beside them danced,—but they
Outdid the sparkling wave in glee:
A poet could not but be gay,
In such a jocund company:
I gazed—and gazed—but little thought
What wealth the show to me had brought:

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For oft, when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude;
And then my heart with pleasure fills,
And dances with the daffodils."

In these verses there is a "subtle perception," and an "exquisite delicacy."

But Wordsworth is not only the poet of Nature, but of Humanity. Mr. Symington says that, "first to last," he was the friend of the humbler orders of society.

"With a fine eye for the beauty of the material world, he also fixed his imagination on the elementary feelings which are the same in all classes, and drew out the beauty that lies in what is truly natural in human life. . . . So intensely was he interested in the public questions of the day, which he had carefully studied in their important bearings, that he would sometimes walk several miles along a country road at two o'clock in the morning in order to meet the carrier bringing his newspaper from Keswick!"

He lived during the stormy times of the French Revolution, went over to France and sympathized heartily with the people, and was compelled to flee the country for his life. But he had seen enough there to confirm him in his determination to champion the cause of the oppressed. The struggle of his fellow-men for their liberties made him acquainted with the sadness of their lot; and from that time he found a new field for his poetic efforts. In "The Prelude" and "The Excursion" are found suggestive thoughts on the subject of man. Up to this time the poet had lived apart from men; and, in order to be a poet of Humanity, it was important that he should know the needs, the struggles, and the aspirations of the "lowly train." His stay in France afforded him this opportunity. He became fond of the great thoughts of a universal mankind, and of the brotherhood of the race. He had no sympathy with those institutions that repressed the growth of man. He saw in God the source of the rights of men to equality and liberty. He would tolerate no despot over men's bodies and souls. "He felt intensely the enthusiasm of the time. He became a human poet: he felt every pulse of the movement in his own heart."

To illustrate the thought which was his consuming passion at this time, I quote his description of an old man, sorrow-stricken, roused from that sorrow by the fall of the Bastile:—

"From that abstraction I was roused,—and how?
Even as a thoughtful shepherd by a flash

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Of lightning startled in a gloomy cave
Of these wild hills. For, lo! the dread Bastile,
With all the chambers in its horrid towers,
Fell to the ground:—by violence overthrown
Of indignation; and with shouts that drowned
The crash it made in falling! From the wreck
A golden palace rose, or seemed to rise,
The appointed seat of equitable law
And mild paternal sway. The potent shock
I felt: the transformation I perceived,
As marvellously seized as in that moment
When, from the blind mist issuing, I beheld
Glory—beyond all glory ever seen,
Confusion infinite of heaven and earth,
Dazzling the soul. Meanwhile, prophetic harps
In every grove were ringing, 'War shall cease;
Did ye not hear that conquest is abjured?
Bring garlands, bring forth choicest flowers, to deck
The tree of Liberty.'"

This is a quotation from "The Excursion"—the poem that was laughed at by many of the poet's contemporaries, and lashed in the reviews; of which Jeffrey said: "This will never do"; and which Byron tried to annihilate. But, referring to the latter poet, Southey once said: "He crush 'The Excursion'! He might as well attempt to crush Mount Skiddaw!"

Two poems, "The Brothers" and "Michael," were written, as Wordsworth recorded in his letter to Fox, "with a view to show that men who do not wear fine clothes can feel deeply." He says:—

"I have attempted to draw a picture of the domestic affections, as I know they exist among a class of men who are now almost confined to the North of England. They are small, independent proprietors of land, men of respectable education, who daily labor on their own little properties. . . . Their little tract of land serves as a kind of permanent rallying point for their domestic feelings. It is a fountain fitted to the nature of social man, from which supplies of affection, as pure as his heart was intended for, are daily drawn."

It is his power of interpreting the elementary feelings common to all mortals that has made Wordsworth the poet of humanity; and he is destined to live as a poet because he is natural, pure, and true to his ideal of nature and humanity,—an ideal based upon a sympathetic knowledge of the visible outward world and of man.

We find no artificiality in Wordsworth, nor any of the city gardens of Pope in the Poet of Windermere. To him the country is not "dull." The meteoric flashes of Byron are singularly absent from his

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sonnets; but this deficiency (?) is supplied by thoughts simple and true, flowing deep and musical as the Severn, and hushing "half the *babbling* Wye." It is true that in the flights of his genius he never laid his hand upon the ocean's mane; but he did see, as no one else did,—not even his sister who was in the boat with him,—"the dancing daffodils." Perhaps he could not soliloquize in the same majestic strain as "The Prisoner of Chillon"; but he *could* and *did* trample on tyranny as effectively as Byron,—only in a different way.

Wordsworth is, moreover, a philosophic poet. He sings of the human soul and of immortality, and has made that realm "from whose bourne no traveller returns" radiant to the imagination. One of the greatest odes in all literature is the one he wrote, entitled, "Intimations of Immortality from the Recollections of Early Childhood." These Intimations are based largely upon Plato's doctrine of Reminiscence, modified by Christianity. Plato believed in the eternal existence of ideas; in other words, he thought that knowledge and love and truth and justice are real existences, and *seen* in heaven. The gods draw life and power from their contemplation. The soul of each man, before it lives on this earth, has lived with the gods, and with them has looked upon the vision of absolute truth,—upon the divine landscape of abstract ideas which make up Eternal Being. Thus preëxistence and reminiscence are, in Plato, connected with the doctrine of Immortality. The child is thus nearer to God and to the vision of Glory than man. "It is fresh from the hands of God." Coming in childhood immediately from God, all the world seems to the poet "apparelled in celestial light, the glory and the brightness of a dream." This definite idea of his view of immortality helps us to appreciate better these beautiful thoughts:—

"Our birth is but a sleep, and a forgetting:
The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God, who is our home:
Heaven lies about us in our infancy!
Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing Boy,
But He beholds the light, and whence it flows
He sees it in his joy;
The Youth, who daily farther from the East

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Must travel, still is Nature's Priest,
And by the vision splendid
Is on his way attended;
At length the Man perceives it die away,
And fade into the light of common day."

The little poem, "We are Seven," although far removed from the Ode in the order of quality, is suggestive of immortality. It expresses the poet's view of the life hereafter; and even the sceptic who has read this poem, as he stands by the open grave of his child and, through his tears and the mist of the valley, tries to feel his way toward the other shore, must hope that there is a better world. Tennyson staggers one when the lips of Lazarus and of the Evangelist return no answer to Mary's query: "Where wert thou, brother, those four days?" Wordsworth inspires us, when the little girl, with artless simplicity, says:—

"Two of us in the churchyard lie,
My sister and my brother;
And, in the churchyard cottage, I
Dwell near them with my mother."

A faithful study, then, of this great poet will make the student a better man. He has had a wholesome influence on modern English literature. Tennyson admired him, and was much influenced by him. The "Edinburgh Review" and its editor have, by the verdict of posterity, been hushed into eternal silence concerning his merits as a poet.

There is an account of an interesting occasion in the Oxford theatre when Wordsworth came forward to receive his honorary degree:—

"Scarcely had his name been pronounced, than from three thousand voices at once there broke forth a burst of applause, echoed and taken up again and again when it seemed about to die away, and that thrice repeated. There were young eyes there filled with an emotion of which they had no need to be ashamed; there were hearts beating with the proud feeling of triumph that at last the world had recognized the merit of the man they had so long loved, and acknowledged as their teacher; and yet when that noise was protracted, there came a reaction in their feelings, and they began to perceive, that *that* was not, after all, the true reward and recompense for all that Wordsworth had done for England; it seemed as if all that noise was vulgarizing the poet. Two young men went home together, part of the way in silence, and one only gave expression to the feelings of the other when he uttered those well-known, trite, and often-quoted lines—lines full of deepest truth:—

'The self-approving hour whole world outweighs
Of stupid starers and of loud huzzas:
And more true joy Marcellus exiled feels
Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels.'"

A. P. PEABODY.

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VICTORIAN GREATER BRITAIN AND ITS FUTURE.

"From before him had already passed away two generations of intelligent men . . . and he was ruling among the third."

THESE words, used by Homer of Nestor, "the sweet speaker of the Pylians," may now, with the proper change of pronouns and tenses, be applied to Queen Victoria. From her throne she has seen two generations of men pass away; and to-day she is ruling among the third. She has reigned sixty years—longer than almost any sovereign known to history. In these sixty years great changes have come over the civilized world, and over Great Britain in particular.

Victoria came to the throne under peculiar and, on the whole, auspicious circumstances,—circumstances that made for peace, within and without. In 1837, the perturbations consequent upon the French Revolution had almost calmed down; and the nations of Europe, "sadder and wiser" for their long turmoil, were eager for peace and rest. So, likewise, the internal agitations connected with the Reform Bill (1832), and the abolition of slavery in British colonies (1833) had mainly died out; and the British people, thus launched on a new career of liberalism,—due in some degree to the French Revolution,—began to look out for new fields of constructive energy. As the representative of this rejuvenescence, a young virgin queen seemed to come with peculiar fitness. After ten years of government by a mad king, ten by a wicked one, and seven by a foolish one, the nation hailed her as an angel of promise, and set vigorously to work to realize that promise. In this they were greatly aided both by the larger ideas to which the recent disturbances had given currency, and also by a number of inventions and practical measures due to the new spirit of reflection and the new familiarity with nature born in the late struggle for liberty. While the new ideas, giving a fresh and kindlier meaning to civilization, swept away many unjust and obstructive class distinctions and religious disabilities, made provision for the poor, removed the shackles from industry, and extended the benefits of education,[1] the new inven-

[1] In 1827, the abolition of "Benefit of Clergy"; in 1828, repeal of the Corpora-

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tions and practicalities supplied the fresh energy and hopefulness thus engendered with means and opportunities for their amplest development.[1] The result was an outburst of productive and commercial enterprise, and an extension of the field of commerce such as had never before been witnessed. The British were soon the first industrial and trading people of the world. And this, though partly due to the circumstances already mentioned, was also partly the outcome of their native character and propensities. Three things especially contributed to it: (1) their delight in travel, adventure, and individual initiative, coupled with a strong and somewhat narrow love for their native land; (2) their fondness for family comfort and generous living of a sort demanding the possession of ample means; (3) their desire to find positions for younger sons, unable to secure lucrative employment at home, and yet unwilling entirely to expatriate themselves. These are, obviously, the personal conditions for business enterprise.

It has been mainly through the efforts of British merchants to extend their markets that the British nation in the last sixty years has come to extend its territory. Markets those merchants were determined to have everywhere. Among peoples ready for them they at once established them: peoples not ready they undertook to make ready or else to replace. But it is impossible to create new tastes among a people without obtaining considerable control over them; and this again is impossible without a certain amount of territorial jurisdiction. Recognizing this, and anxious to foster mercantile enterprise,—the source of her greatest wealth,—the nation has not been slow to acquire this jurisdiction in whatever way has seemed most feasible. It is important to bear this in mind. Whereas, in former times, extensions of territory were due either to conquest or discovery, or both, those acquired by Great Britain in the reign of Queen Victoria have come principally through the exigencies of commerce. This fact largely determines the nature of their relations to the mother country, and whether they are calculated to be a source of strength or of weakness to her. Within certain limits, varying according to times and circumstances, accessions of territory—provided they are contiguous and inhab-

tion and Test Acts; in 1829, Catholic Emancipation; in 1833, the first Factory Act, and the opening up of the East India trade; in 1834, the new Poor Law, and grant to National Schools; in 1836, Act for the Commutation of Tithes, etc., etc.

[1] In 1807, the first steamboat; in 1814, the first locomotive; in 1815, gas-lighting in London; in 1825, the first railway, and the first iron ship; in 1829, the first lucifer matches; in 1835, introduction of the telegraph; in 1840, penny postage, etc., etc.

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ited by people not differing too widely in ideals or grade of culture—are a source of strength to a nation: when these two conditions are not realized, they are apt to be a source of weakness in times of difficulty. We shall have to revert to this, when we come to consider the future outlook for Great Britain.

When Victoria came to the throne, the foreign possessions of the British were the following; viz., in America: Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Upper and Lower Canada, British Honduras, British Guiana, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes, Barbuda, Antigua, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Tobago, Grenada, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitts, Dominica, Anguilla, the Virgin Islands, the Falkland Islands; in Europe: Gibraltar, Malta and Gozo, Heligoland, the Ionian Islands; in Asia: Ceylon, India (exclusive of Sindh, the Punjaub, and Nepal), Pegu, Penang, Province Wellesley, Singapore, Malacca, Aracan, Tenasserim, Tasmania, Australia; in Africa: Gambia, Sierra Leone, Cape Colony, Mauritius, St. Helena, Ascension. The relations of these to the mother country were not in all cases the same. Some of them were self-governing states, some crown colonies, some merely protectorates; while over large tracts British authority was merely nominal, as in Australia and British America.

In the last sixty years the number and extent of British dependencies have enormously increased. Only two have been surrendered; the Ionian Islands to Greece in 1864, and Heligoland to Germany in 1890. Since the promulgation in 1823 of the Monroe Doctrine no European nation has acquired fresh territory in America. Since that date, therefore, all British extensions have been in the Old World, in Asia (including Australasia), and in Africa. In Asia, Sindh, the Punjaub, Oudh, Beluchistan, and some minor provinces have been added to the Indian possessions; Burma, New Zealand, New Guinea, Fiji (with some smaller islands), Hongkong, Labuan, British Borneo, Aden, Perim, Kamaran, the Bahrein Islands, and Cyprus have been acquired. In Africa, the acquisitions have been the Gold Coast, Lagos, Yoruba, Niger Territories, British Central Africa, Caffraria, Basutoland, Natal, Zululand, Amatongaland, Bechuanaland, Ibea, Zanzibar, Somali Coast, Socotra, Tristan da Cunha, and lastly, Egypt. Besides all these, Great Britain claims suzerainty over the Transvaal Republic, and is gradually encroaching upon an extensive territory to the north and west of that (British South Africa). Again, these dependencies stand to the mother country in the same variety of relations as the older ones. Meanwhile,

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many of the latter have changed their relations to her and to each other. New colonies have been planted in old territories; *e. g.*, Manitoba and British Columbia, in land that was formerly held by the Hudson Bay Company. Old colonies have been broken up into parts, and each erected into a distinct dependency; as in the case of Victoria and Queensland, portions of what was once New South Wales. Dependencies once distinct have been united; *e. g.*, the Canadian provinces into the Dominion of Canada; the Indian presidencies, once governed by the East India Company, into the Empire of India; and so on. On the whole, there has been a tendency toward consolidation.

In reading over the above list of foreign possessions, long as it is, one gets but the vaguest notion of the extension of British power that has taken place in the last sixty years. It is only when we come to translate its items into square miles, population, commerce, and revenue that its full significance becomes apparent. Here, of course, the figures can be only approximate. In 1837, the foreign possessions of Great Britain covered an area of about four million square miles,—considerably more than the area of the United States, including Alaska. To-day they cover three times that number,—an area nearly equal to that of the Russian and Chinese empires together. In 1837, the population of these possessions amounted to about one hundred and ten millions: to-day it amounts to very nearly three times that number. In 1837, their commerce was worth about two hundred and fifty millions of dollars (£50,000,000): to-day it is worth ten times as much. In 1837, their revenue was about a hundred millions of dollars: to-day it is seven times as much. In other words, in Queen Victoria's reign, the foreign possessions of Great Britain, and their population, have trebled[1]; while their commerce has increased tenfold, and their revenue sevenfold. Surely it may be said that no nation known to history can show such a record of growth in a single reign, or in sixty years. Even the Romans in a thousand years did not acquire an empire one-sixth as large as that of Queen Victoria.

Such is the past. We must now turn to the future and ask what outlook it presents, what is likely to be the result for Great Britain and for the world of this unparalleled growth in territory, population, and wealth, and what policy the British must pursue in order that their power and prosperity may continue.

[1] The population of the entire British Empire is at present little short of 400,000,000: in other words, Queen Victoria rules over more than a fourth of the entire human race.

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It is obvious enough that, if political and social strength depended upon extent of territory, material wealth, and number of population, Great Britain would be by far the mightiest nation on the face of the earth. Indeed, until recently, she thought, spoke, and acted as if she were so; and the world, on the whole, took her at her own estimate. In the last few years, however, a change of feeling has come about; and in this Great Britain herself shares. It is now generally acknowledged that Russia is the determining Power in the Old World, and that, in influence, Germany stands next to her. That Great Britain recognizes this, especially with regard to Russia, she shows in two ways: (1) by courting the favor of the United States and of France; (2) by allowing Russia to exercise power which but a few years ago she would have jealously resisted as plainly prejudicial to British interests. Obtrusive examples of such unresisted power are the recent dealings of Russia with China and Japan, and with Turkey and Greece. These have been distinctly detrimental to Great Britain; and yet she has not felt strong enough to prevent them. Indeed it seems, at the present moment, as if, with all her wealth and territory, she were about to sink into the position of a second-rate Power, compelled to shape her policy in accordance with the good pleasure of her more powerful rivals. This is certainly a poor presage; and, if it were to be realized, not only Great Britain, but all the world would be the loser. As political and moral forces, Russia and Germany, with their coarse despotism, do not compare with her. Under the circumstances, it seems pertinent to inquire what are the influences which, by depriving her of her former prestige and authority, have damped her courage and paralyzed her hands; and then briefly to consider whether these can be removed or counteracted in such a way that she may be able to recover her lost ground, and act again as a counterpoise to the retrograde tendencies of her rivals.

These influences, it is plain enough, are many and varied; but the chief of them may be classed, for convenience' sake, under four heads: (1) personal, (2) social, (3) economic, (4) political.

(1) There is no denying that the personal characteristics of the British, and especially of the English, are a serious drawback to them. Go where you will, in the Old World or the New, you will rarely hear a good word for them. They are unsympathetic, unsociable, and overbearing: such is their reputation; and, unfortunately, it is, in the main, deserved. That deep human culture of intelligence, heart, and will, that true gentleness or gentlemanliness, which makes its possessor a benediction and a joy, inspiring sympathy, confidence, and

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goodwill, are almost unknown among Englishmen. Their really great virtues of frankness and justice are untempered by amenity and generosity. As a writer in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" once said, in an article on "British Rule in India," "Les Anglais sont justes mais pas bons." The consequence is that they are universally unpopular; and every other people is ready to chuckle when they are checkmated or humbled. They have no friends: no one—not even this nation, whose people may be said to be of their own flesh and blood—wishes to make common cause with them, so deep is the dislike and distrust of them. If the British Empire were to be crushed to-morrow, all the world, with the exception of the few perspicacious persons who can see a wholesome kernel under a rude, cantankerous husk, would rejoice. Meanwhile, it would not be sorry to see circumstances arise that might bring about this event.

(2) That the social condition of Great Britain is a source of weakness to her, in several respects, is very evident. This must always be the case with a nation that, like her, has no social ideal to draw into a common channel the energies of all her citizens. In a characteristic enough way, she hesitates and falters between two ideals—the mediæval aristocratic and the modern democratic,—loyal to neither. While Russia is frankly aristocratic and opposed to democracy, and Germany is rapidly becoming so, both thus assuming a definite direction and aim, Great Britain is wasting her opportunities and strength in trying to follow two courses at once. To-day her government is tory and aristocratic: to-morrow it may be liberal and democratic. To-day she is playing into the hands of Russian and German despotism: to-morrow she may be courting the coöperation of democratic France or the still more democratic United States. The truth is, she is internally divided against herself. The old privileged classes, in their fastidious exclusiveness and their blindness to the meaning of history, are fearful of democracy, and would rather go back to the fleshpots of class-fostering despotism than press forward to the promised land of universal humanity and moral worth; while, on the other hand, the unprivileged, privilege-oppressed masses, impelled by need and blind craving for their part in human enjoyment, are willing to face the desert, with all its desolation, being more than half assured that they will find milk and honey on the other side. Thus, while the personal character of the English leaves them naked without, their want of an all-inspiring, all-directing social ideal makes them weak and vacillating within.

(3) Though Great Britain is the richest country in the world, her

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wealth is derived from sources that render it precarious and, in many respects, a cause of weakness to her. Wealth, to be really a source of strength, must be secure, and its springs easily defended. When this is not the case, it exhausts the energies of a nation, leaving few or none to expend for higher ends. Now, the springs of Great Britain's wealth lie mainly in her dependencies and her commerce. Her home productions form a mere vanishing fraction of the whole. But dependencies scattered over the whole face of the earth, some of them inhabited by disaffected races, and others within easy reach of foes or jealous rivals, are hard to defend; while foreign commerce is rendered insecure, or may even be checked, by war. In this respect Great Britain is at an enormous disadvantage, as compared with countries like Russia or the United States, whose sources of wealth, being mainly within themselves, in a continuous territory, subject to direct jurisdiction, can be defended with comparative ease, and are not likely to be jeopardized by foreign war. Thus, since Britain's wealth is specially dependent upon a state of peace, she, more than any other nation, is interested in avoiding war.

This, in itself, is, of course, a most desirable condition of things, contributing largely to the welfare of all the world; nevertheless it may be carried too far, both for the best interests of humanity and for her own honor and authority. If, by shunning war for fear of endangering the sources of her wealth, she allows her less beneficent rivals to carry out their own purposes, and to drive her into a corner where she is compelled, not only to leave them unmolested, but even, in obedience to their dictation, to aid and abet them, she at once becomes unfaithful to the cause of human civilization, and lays herself open to the dishonoring charges of selfishness and pusillanimity. That she has of late years been doing this, and with such a result, must be evident to everyone who has followed her course and marked her attitude with reference to recent events in the East. There, contrary to her own wish and better judgment, she has not only permitted Russia to deprive Japan of the legitimate fruits of her victory over China, and to gain in the latter country a foothold and an earnest of ascendency, which cannot but be detrimental to British interests, but she has stood by, with only a wordy palaver of meaningless, unsupported protests, while Turkey, under the ægis of Russia, has committed atrocities upon her Christian subjects such as would have disgraced the most barbarous of nations in the darkest of the dark ages. Nay, she has even gone further, and actually lent her aid in carrying out the policy

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of Russia and Germany—her two most envious rivals, and the two greatest foes of human liberty—in coercing Crete, humiliating and paralyzing Greece, and thereby crushing out all movement toward freedom and democracy in the East. And her reward has been, that she has not only earned the contempt of the despotic nations whose instrument of dirty work she has allowed herself to be, but that she is rapidly losing her prestige all the world over. The "three Emperors," after having compromised her, by forcing her to be, for a time, their accomplice, will settle the Eastern Question—to-day the most vital of all political and social questions—to suit themselves; leaving her to mutter, yelp, or bawl, to her heart's content, her helpless protests, of which, under her present government, she is so fond. She herself foresees this result, and in some degree recognizes that she has brought it upon herself, but knows not which way to turn in order to avert it. Such is the sad plight into which her economic relations have brought her.

(4) Closely connected with these are her political relations. Resting, with undisguised satisfaction, upon old laurels, and giving herself up, in fancied security, to the pursuit of wealth and what wealth brings, she has forgotten that political strength, on which, in the last resort, all other blessings depend, has for its prime conditions: (1) a territory of such nature and extent as to be at once the chief source of wealth and capable of easy defence; (2) a homogeneous people with common aims and ideals, all contributing, with patriotic enthusiasm, to the national defence, none being burdensome, disaffected, or rebellious. Accordingly, for several generations, and, especially, as we have seen, during the reign of Queen Victoria, Great Britain has scattered her people and her energies over the whole earth, without ever pausing to consider how this affected her national strength. She has thus come into possession of an empire which, while appealing forcibly to the sense of bulk, has neither of the more essential conditions of political solidity. It is neither compact, continuous, nor easily defensible; and its chief resources are unavailable without a commerce which war might readily disturb or cut off. Its inhabitants, instead of being homogeneous, harmonious, and animated by a common patriotic ideal, belong to every race under the sun, from the most cultivated to the most savage; so that anything like harmony of feeling, or community of interests and aims, is out of the question. The means of defence, instead of maintaining a constant arithmetical ratio to the extent of territory to be defended, exhibit something like a constantly diminishing geometrical one. The inhabitants of the added possessions, instead of increasing these means,

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are continually drawing upon them for protection, and, in some cases, to a very considerable extent even for repression.

The weakness thus caused to the British Empire, by the wholesale addition of non-self-defending territories, has been increased during Victoria's reign by circumstances that can be readily understood. For a generation after the close of the Napoleonic wars, all the chief nations of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain, were so exhausted and shattered that they could do little or nothing more than collect themselves, and try to settle down into some sort of quiet, regular existence of the old pattern. Britain alone, whose soil had not been desecrated by Napoleon's soldiers, was strong and enterprising. Feeling, in the flush of victory, as if all the world were hers for the winning, she started on a career of industry, commerce, and conquest, in which, for the time, she had no occasion to fear either equal or rival. Thus she became producer and purveyor for the whole world; thus she acquired untold wealth and unlimited territory; thus her voice became paramount in the councils of the nations.

But, in the last fifty years, things have been assuming a different aspect. The Continental nations, recovering from their exhaustion, have begun to look about them, and to see with surprise that she aims at the possession of every foot of land she can by any means acquire and hold, and thus threatens to leave them no place for enterprise or expansion. The result has been envy and rivalry on their part, with a determination to check, if possible, her further advance. Russia has put in a claim for Asia; Germany, France, and Italy, for Africa. Thus far, indeed, their efforts have not been crowned with any very gratifying success; but their purpose and determination are fixed and evident. There is a distinct movement among the Continental Powers to isolate Great Britain, and to act together in opposition to her. In the concert of Europe, she is a minority of one. Even the United States, for the sake of whose friendship she recently showed herself disposed to abate certain of her pretensions, has shown no readiness to make common cause with her. Thus to-day, with immense interests at stake and an immense territory to defend, Great Britain stands alone, without a friend in the world. The other Powers of Europe snub and ridicule her; and she dare not seek redress in war, as she would have done forty, or even twenty, years ago. In 1878, single-handed, she compelled Russia to cancel the treaty of San Stefano; to-day she cannot prevent the same nation from making treaties, far more prejudicial to British interests, with China and Turkey. She may protest; but she will not act.

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Looking back upon what has been said of the various relations—internal and external—of Great Britain, as they have shaped themselves during the last sixty years, one cannot avoid the conclusion that, with all the enormous increase of territory and wealth which has fallen to her in that period, the close of Victoria's reign will find her in a position of great difficulty, and with a very gloomy outlook for the future. Isolated and alienated from the rest of the world, and unable to cope with its combined opposition, she bids fair to be stripped of many of her possessions, and, like Spain, once the mistress of so many lands, to sink into the position of a second-rate Power, with none so poor to do her reverence.

Though this is a consummation devoutly wished by most other nations and by the world in general, hardly any greater calamity could befall the world and the cause of human civilization. For, with all her faults and errors, all her superciliousness and rapacity, she is to-day the chief bulwark of freedom and civilization in Europe; the champion of liberty of thought, speech, action, and intercourse; the representative of healthy, vigorous, clean human life. Annihilate her influence in Europe, and the despotic empires which are gathering and combining their forces to undo the progress of five hundred years, to crush all popular movements and restore the political and spiritual claims of the dark ages, would soon have full sway over the Old World. One must be blind indeed who fails to see that the efforts of these Powers to isolate Great Britain, while making court to France and Italy, have for their end, not merely the subversion of a powerful rival, but the suppression of all that she represents. The overthrow of Great Britain means the triumph of despotism, with all the oppression, cruelty, and barbarism which Russia even now practises or connives at. Well may Russia flaunt her affinity with Turkey! Surely *this* is a consummation not devoutly to be wished by any friend of humanity, but to be averted by every possible means.

The most hopeful fact about the present gloomy outlook for Great Britain is, that it is mainly due to causes lying within herself—causes therefore, which it is in her power to remove. If her people are unpopular, it is because she has not trained and instructed them in the simple humanities of social life; if she is aimless, irresolute, and lacking in purpose and direction,—being divided against herself—it is because she palters with mediævalisms in Church, State, and Society, and does not loyally and frankly assume the dignity that belongs to her, as the champion of modernness, democracy, and freedom. If she per-

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mits her fondness for wealth to scatter her energies over the whole earth, and to bind up her hands from defending the oppressed strugglers for liberty that appeal to her, it is because, standing for no distinct moral or social ideal, she entrusts the guidance of her affairs to men of retrograde, undemocratic tendencies, narrow views, and petty class interests. If the defenceless condition of her scattered empire compels her to seek peace at all cost, and to sacrifice her dignity and authority by doing scullion-work for her brutal rivals, it is because, in thoughtless security, she has given her powers to increasing her wealth and acreage, and has neglected the conditions of political strength.

If, then, she is to escape the doom prepared for her by her foes and those of liberty, it is evident that, setting aside all false vanity, and acknowledging—to herself, at least—her past errors, she must vigorously set herself to do four things: (1) to give her people a new education, including a training in gentlemanliness and thoughtfulness, an education guided by an ideal of universal freedom and culture; (2) to adopt a thorough democratic policy, putting herself at the head of the democratic movement in Europe, abolishing, on the one hand, all unjust privilege and all childish titles, and, on the other, taking a determined stand against socialism, that materialistic dry-rot of democracy; (3) to adopt strong and comprehensive measures for the defence of such dependencies as are calculated to add to her strength, and to part with those that are otherwise[1]; (4) to consolidate her remaining empire by transforming it into a federation of sovereign states, each of which, being duly represented in Parliament, shall contribute its share to the national defence and to all national enterprises; at the same time abandoning her policy of selfish isolation, by entering into cordial relations with all the Powers whose faces are set in the same direction as hers. Thus, strong and respected within and without, and animated and directed by a definite and noble ideal, she might hope to lead the hosts of freedom to victory over the hordes of despotism, in that great, decisive battle of Armageddon, which, sooner or later, must be fought between them, before Freedom and Peace can set up their universal kingdom upon earth.

To those who believe in the mission of Great Britain, and would be sorry to see her weakened or dishonored, it is encouraging to feel that some of the tasks here enumerated have already been recognized and entered upon by her. The education of children, which, formerly, was let out to teachers as the washing of clothes was to washerwomen,

[1] Russia showed great wisdom in parting with Alaska and getting paid for it!

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is now regarded as a matter demanding the careful attention of parents; while there is a considerable movement, headed by some very able and far-seeing men, to consolidate the empire, by drawing the dependencies into closer union with the mother country, and imparting to them a deeper interest in her welfare, by conferring upon them new privileges and responsibilities. At the time of writing this article it is reported that the Queen's "diamond jubilee," at which the governors of all the dependencies are expected to be present, and at which she will receive new titles, expressive of new relations to certain portions of the empire, will be taken advantage of, as an opportunity for discussing, and perhaps initiating, some such scheme. Let us hope that the report is true; and let us, as a nation, give her our cordial support in every effort she may make to further the cause of freedom, and to resist the growing forces of despotism!

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

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